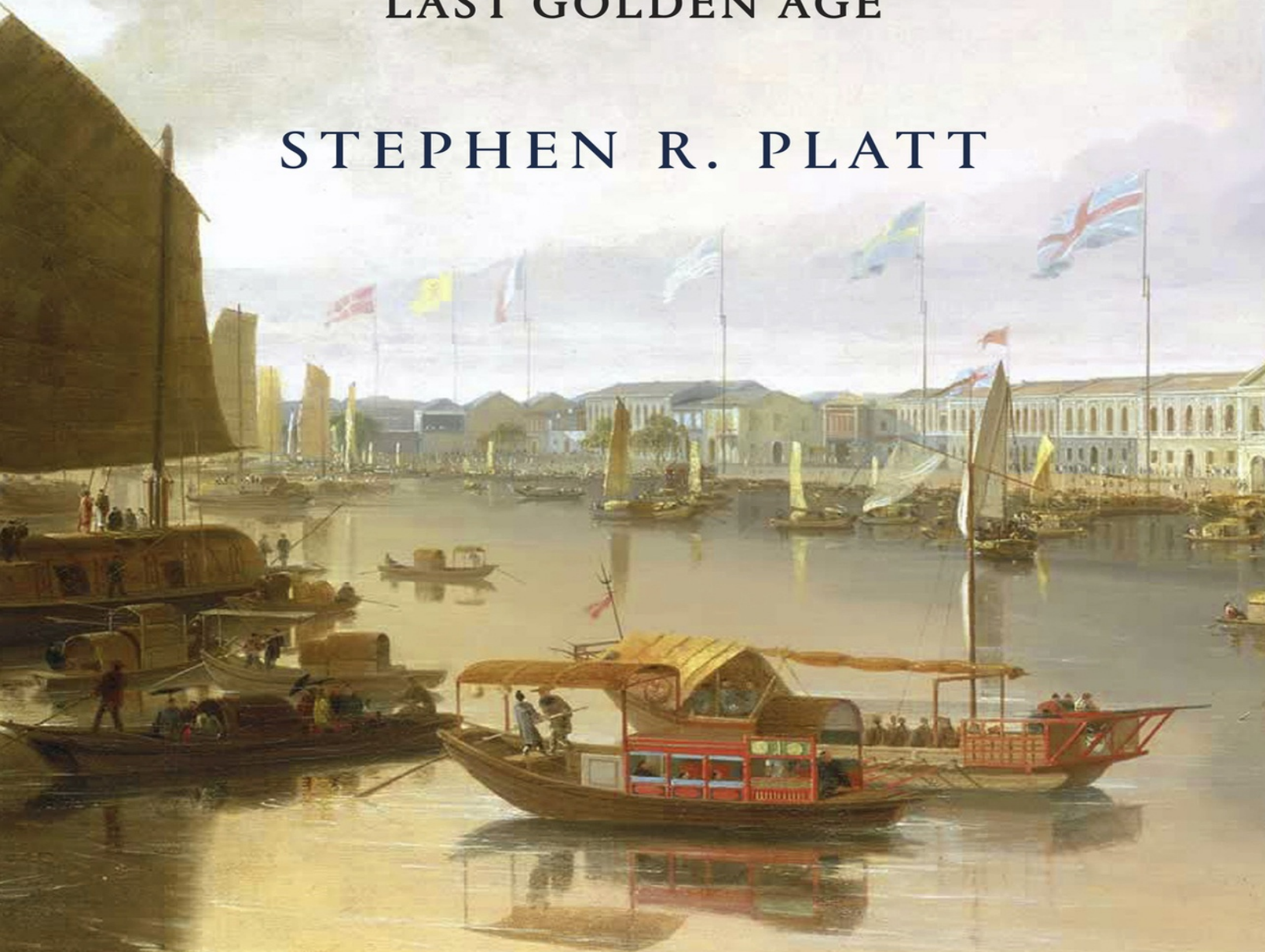


IMPERIAL TWILIGHT

THE OPIUM WAR
AND THE END OF CHINA'S
LAST GOLDEN AGE

STEPHEN R. PLATT



ALSO BY STEPHEN R. PLATT

*Autumn in the Heavenly Kingdom:
China, the West, and the Epic Story of the Taiping Civil War*

*Provincial Patriots:
The Hunanese and Modern China*

Imperial Twilight



*The Opium War and
the End of China's Last Golden Age*

STEPHEN R. PLATT



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For Francie, Lucy, and Eliot

Desolate castle, the sky, the wide desert.
There is no wall left to this village.
Bones white with a thousand frosts, High heaps, covered
 with trees and grass; Who brought this to pass?
Who has brought the flaming imperial anger?
Who has brought the army with drums and with kettle-
 drums?
Barbarous kings.
A gracious spring, turned to blood-ravenous autumn...

—LI BO (701–762), TRANS. EZRA POUND,
“Lament of the Frontier Guard”

Weave a circle round him thrice, And close
 your eyes with holy dread, For he on
 honey-dew hath fed
And drunk the milk of Paradise.

—SAMUEL TAYLOR COLERIDGE,
“Kubla Khan”

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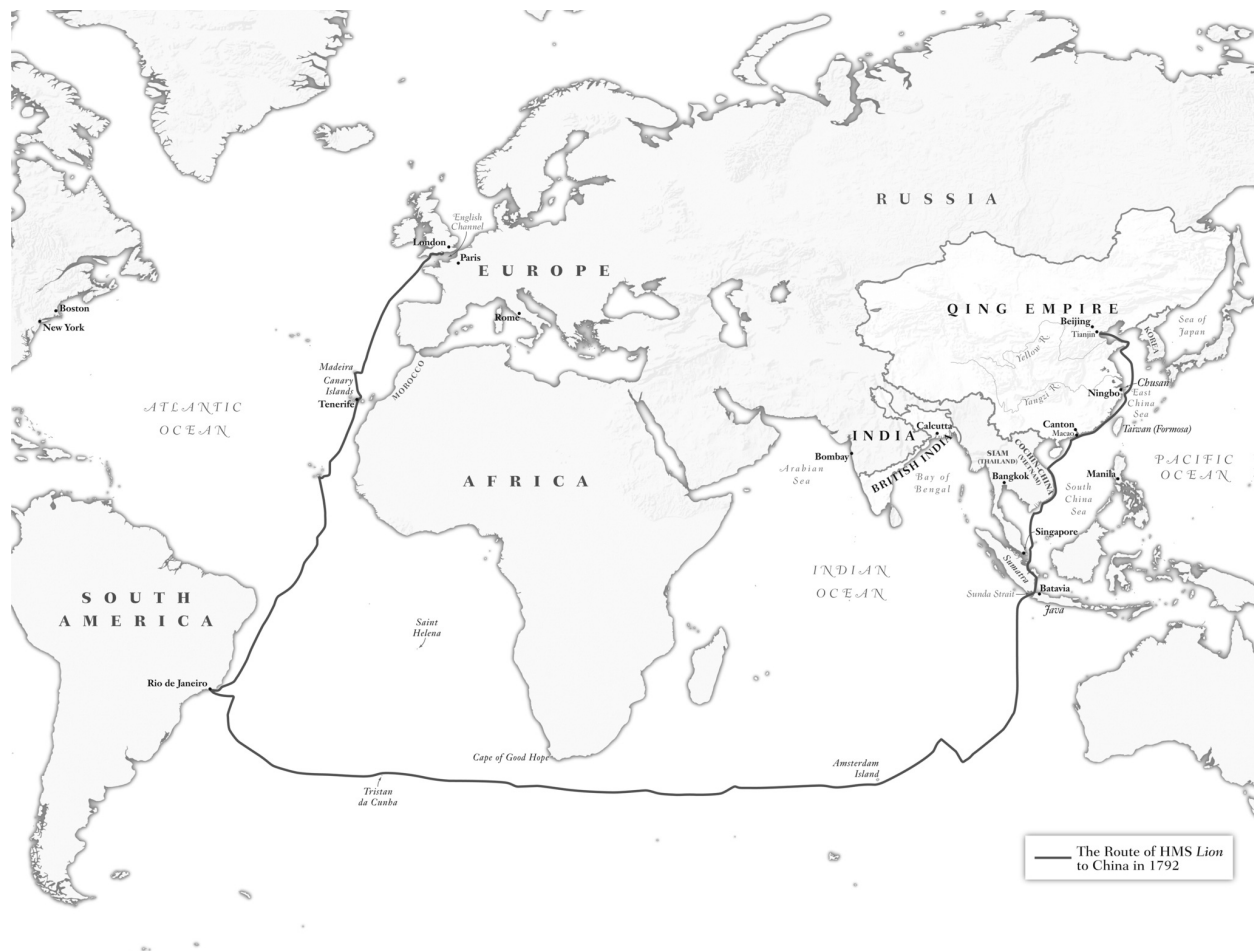
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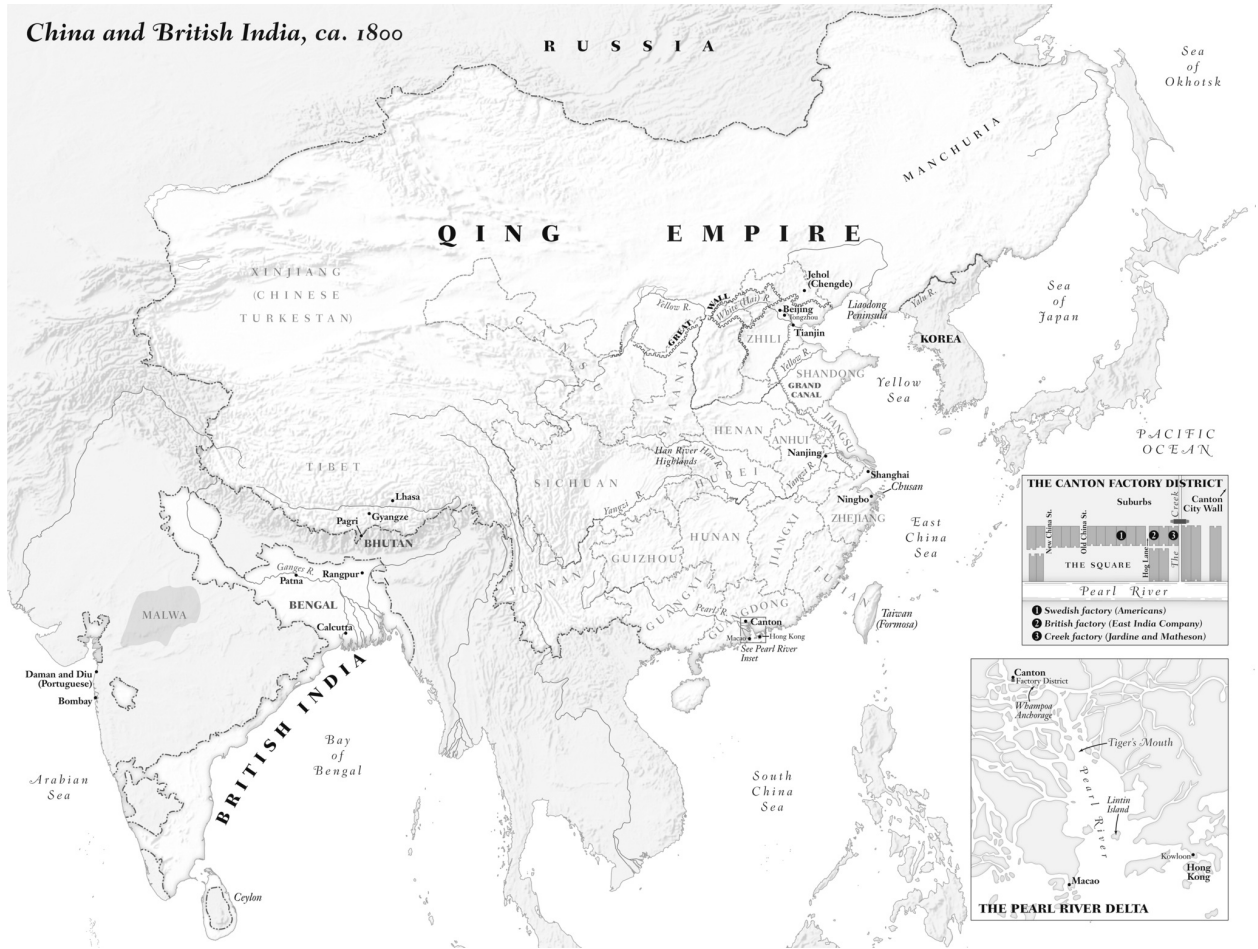
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A Note About the Author



China and British India, ca. 1800



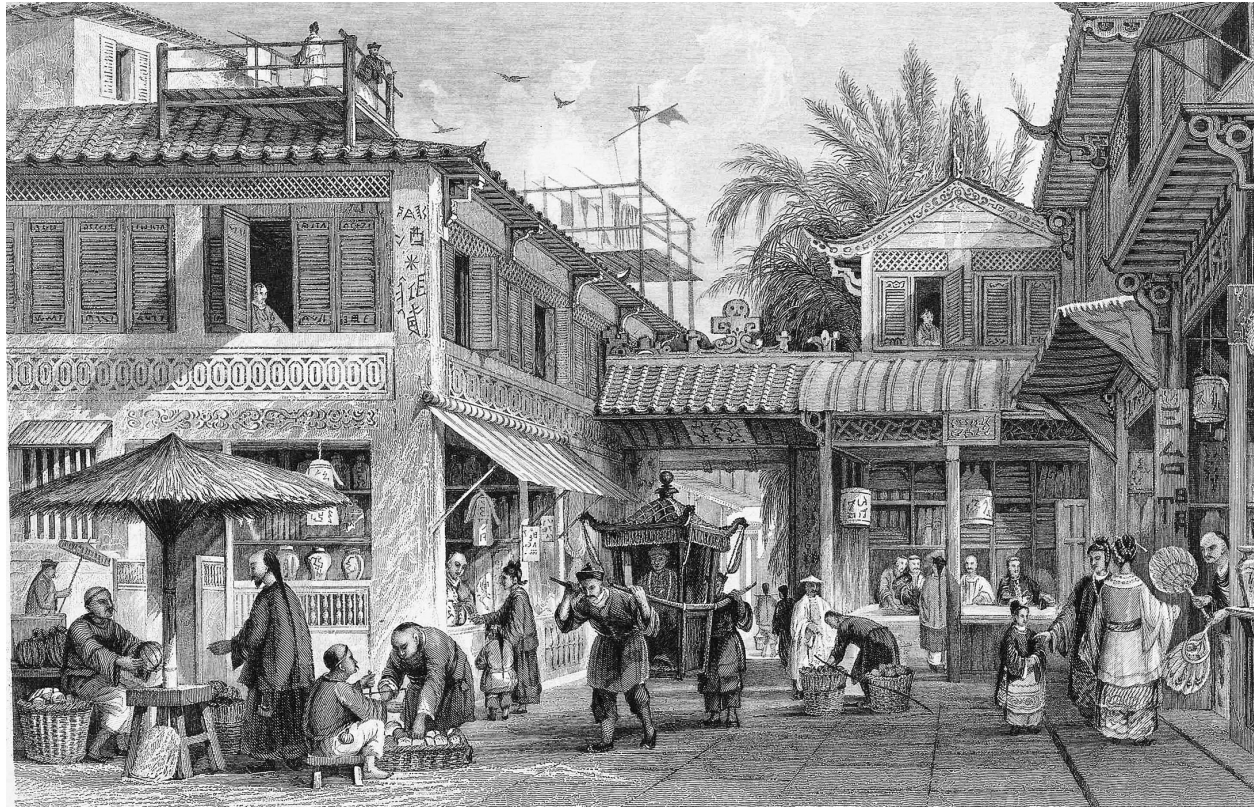
Introduction: Canton

If you stand outside the wall, it is impossible to gauge the size of the city. Canton is built on a plain, so the low, flat buildings of brick and wood that lie inside are invisible from where you stand. The wall is thirty feet high and crenellated, built from large blocks of sandstone at its base and smaller bricks above. It stretches as far as you can see in either direction, with forts visible on top at regular intervals, cannons peering outward. Near you is one of the twelve massive wooden gates that open into the city, a shadowed cave guarded by soldiers and horsemen. The gates creak open each morning at dawn, and close again each evening around 9 p.m. Not that you will be allowed in. As a foreigner, you are stopped at the gate and turned away. You will not see the fantastic warren of narrow streets inside, paved with thick slabs of granite. You will not see the dense brick houses with their sloping tiled roofs, the vast examination hall with its thousands of cells, the lavish mansions, the temples, the gardens, or the government offices that lie within.¹

Instead, you stay outside and wander back through the suburbs, the sprawling and amorphous settlements surrounding the wall where you could walk for miles without any sense of their coming to an end. It is steamy weather, so humid your sweat seems to just blend into the air around you. The paved streets are twisting and so very narrow that you can sometimes touch the walls on both sides at the same time. The buildings here, fronted with fragrant carved wood, are mostly two stories high, with tall shutters on the windows. Above you, laundry hangs to dry on lines stretched across the top of the alley, creating a

canopy effect. It is hard to hear over the din of the hawkers and the shouting of porters and chair-bearers as they try to push their way through. Everywhere is the press of humanity—people traveling on foot or carried in sedan chairs, lounging in the alleyways, eating in open-air restaurants as street performers and beggars ply them for money.

If there are other foreigners about in the suburbs you might overhear a few snatches of Pidgin English, the local trading language. It is a hybrid of the Cantonese dialect of the city and the European tongues native to the foreigners who come to trade here (“pidgin” means “business”). For the most part it is made up of English words, sometimes with a bit of Hindi or Portuguese, set to Chinese grammar and pronunciation. It is a meeting ground between vastly different languages and will take some getting used to. Fragments of it will be absorbed back into English—having a “look-see” or eating “chow,” asking someone to hurry up “chop-chop” or telling them “Long time no see.” In its full-blown form it is a colorful singsong of a language. “I saw a man eating” becomes “My look-see one piecee man catchee chow-chow.” “He has no money” translates to “He no hab catchee dollar.” “You belongy smart inside” means “You’re very smart.”



A Canton street scene

Vertical signs hang from the sides of most buildings with Chinese characters announcing what is for sale in the shops on the ground floor. You can't read them. But you may be relieved to see that some stores have signs written out in English letters to lure you in. You enter one of these shops through a tall central doorway flanked by two large open windows. It is cooler inside, out of the sun. There is a counter near one of the windows, piled with writing materials. A clerk flips the beads of an abacus rapidly with one hand while he writes down calculations with the other. It is quiet except for the clicking of the abacus. The shop is crammed to the rafters with silk of every description.

Back out in the alley you continue on your way, past shops selling tea, medicine, porcelain, a hundred other goods. A great deal of money changes hands here. There are craftsmen and artists—cabinet makers, blacksmiths, tailors, painters. The painters work in oil, on glass or canvas. They can produce Chinese or European images for you with equal skill, easily replicating anything you bring to them. They will even hold sittings for a visitor like yourself to get your portrait painted. Some of the foreigners say their oil portraits aren't always so flattering. But as the joke goes, when they complain the painters just tell them, "No hab got handsome face, how can hab handsome picture?"

It is not a clean city—though neither, for that matter, are London or Boston. It is especially filthy near the Pearl River, which is where we are headed. The sluggish water of the canals feeding into the river is thick with sewage and refuse from the nearby houses. Rows of sampans are tied up several deep in the river, where the boat people live. Piles of garbage are strewn along the bank. The smell of refuse

stewing in the humid warmth is something you will stop noticing in time.

Now we come to the factory district at the edge of the river. This is where you belong.

What you will notice first as you enter from along the river is the relatively enormous amount of open space before you. You have seen nothing like it in the tightly packed suburbs, where alley gives way to alley and there are no open public areas (the great gardens of the suburbs are private and lie behind walls). But here is a wide expanse of hard-trodden dirt with space to walk around freely. This plaza of reclaimed land—the square, as it is known—slopes gently down to a muddy riverfront densely crowded with ships. The ships here are all small ones, for the river is fairly shallow; all of the giant oceangoing vessels you might have expected to see are about ten miles downriver at a deeper anchorage called Whampoa.

There are small groups of Chinese wandering around on the open square, and if you turn away from the water you will see what they have come for. Jarringly out of place in comparison to the low wooden houses of the suburbs, here is an imposing row of thirteen large buildings of brick and granite, higher than anything you have yet seen in Canton—higher even than the city wall. They are distinctly European in appearance, with columned verandas and terraces. Several have tall flagpoles out front that fly the national flag of a Western country: Britain, France, the United States.

These are the factories, where the foreigners live. In spite of the name, they are not sites of manufacturing (a “factor” is a term from India meaning a trader). They contain living quarters, warehouses, and offices. Each one has a Chinese “compradore,” or chief steward, who staffs it with a small army of servants—cooks, valets, butlers, even menial servants to pull the ropes that keep the ceiling fans spinning in this oppressive heat. They keep the factories well supplied with food and other necessities. Some have a few head of livestock or a milk

cow on hand. If a factory is inhabited by a single national group, it gets to fly its flag out front. The ones without flags host a variety of foreign businessmen, many from India.

For the most part the factory buildings have been built touching one other to economize on space, but there are three gaps between them—short, busy streets filled with single-story Chinese shops. Even on this small scale there are important gradations, better or worse parts of “town.” The more respectable alleys are New China Street and Old China Street—toward the left if you face the factories from the water. About twelve feet wide, they have orderly rows of retail stalls and tailor shops, a place for temporary visitors to pick up souvenirs and get clothing made. The less respectable alley, a narrower and dirtier one off to the right, is called Hog Lane, and it is mainly crammed with bars catering to foreign sailors from the ships down at Whampoa, who occasionally get a few days of shore leave, which—as in any other port they might encounter—they mainly spend getting drunk. The Chinese proprietors of the bars have adopted English names like “Jolly Jack” and “Tom Bowline.” Their liquor shacks are so tiny they don’t have benches or a bar per se, just a rope over which a sailor can hang by his armpits and drink until he passes out.



The foreign factories at Canton and the square in front of them

In all the compound, it is the British factory that is most striking. Larger than the others, it has its own fenced-in space in front that reaches all the way down to the riverbank. Standing out in front under the limp Union Jack on this sultry afternoon you can see the factory's broad, columned terrace with a view up and down the river, where the merchants of the East India Company can enjoy their tiffin and sometimes catch a bit of a breeze. If you go through the front gate, past the vigilant Chinese guard with his rattan cane, entering through the shade of the veranda, you will find upstairs a European world that might make you forget where you are. Along the wide hallways you will find counting rooms, tea-tasting rooms, and parlors. There is a chapel with a spire that holds the only public clock in the compound. There are well-appointed living apartments, a dining hall with room for more than a hundred guests, a billiard room, a library of four thousand books.

Looking around inside the vast, chandeliered British dining hall—

the portrait of a king on one wall, a former ambassador on another—drinking your sherry as a bustling crowd of servants prepares to serve a dinner of roast beef and potatoes with gravy, you could be forgiven for imagining you had stumbled into some colonial outpost. But this is not India. The British are not in charge here. The Chinese are. These buildings are, all of them, owned by Chinese merchants, who rent them out to the foreign traders so they will have a place to stay and do their business. The armies of servants answer to their Chinese superiors, not to those they wait on. They report what goes on with the guests. Watched over at all times, the foreigners feel sometimes like grubby infants—coddled and helpless, attended always by their nurses. They need permission to do just about anything.

As opulent as these surroundings may be, the residents sometimes feel that they have volunteered to become prisoners here. Despite the feeling of open space outside on the square, the compound is quite limited in size. It runs for just three hundred yards along the waterfront, and between the square out front and the extensive factory buildings behind, it is about two hundred yards deep. The longer you are here, the smaller it will feel. Foreigners are not permitted to go into the city itself, and they can only wander through the very nearest parts of the suburbs. Farther on, and throngs of young boys will materialize to throw rocks at them and call them foreign devils. Even farther, and Chinese soldiers will come to escort them gently home. Every ten days a small group is allowed to take the air in a nearby garden. Other than that, this is their gilded cage. There is nothing else like it in the world. The entire formal trade of Europe and America with China, the largest empire in existence, goes on here in a space of just twelve acres—less, some like to point out, than the footprint of one of the pyramids in Egypt.

You may not want to spend too many years of your life here, but as you see it in the early 1830s, Canton hardly seems the kind of place to start a war.

No event casts a longer shadow over China's modern history than the Opium War. Sparked by an explosive series of events that took place in the Canton factory compound in 1839, the war would end in 1842 with China's humiliating defeat and a treaty all but dictated by the British aggressors, setting a disastrous pattern for the century to come. Textbooks in China on "modern" history, as a rule, take the Opium War as their starting point, the moment when China left its traditional past behind and was dragged forcibly into the world of European imperialism. The war occupies that place not because it was so destructive; in fact, it was relatively small and contained. It caused none of the large-scale social dislocation that China's major internal wars of the nineteenth century like the Taiping Rebellion did. It did not topple the ruling dynasty or even remotely threaten to do so. There weren't even that many battles fought.

But the symbolic power of the Opium War is almost limitless. It has long stood as the point when China's weakness was laid bare before the world, the opening of a "Century of Humiliation" in which Western (and later Japanese) predators would make war on China to bully it into granting territorial concessions and trading rights. It marked a sea change in relations with the West—the end of one era, when foreigners came to China as supplicants, and the dawn of another, when they would come as conquerors. And it carries especially strong power because China unquestionably had the moral high ground: as remembered since, and as charged by critics at the time, Great Britain unleashed its navy on a nearly defenseless China in order to advance the interests of its national drug dealers, who for years had been smuggling opium to China's coast against the laws of the country. The shocking grounds of the war have provided the very foundation of modern Chinese nationalism—from the overthrow of the Qing dynasty in 1912 and the rise, first of the Republic, and then the People's Republic of China, the Opium War has stood for the essence of everything modern China has tried to leave behind:

weakness, victimhood, shame.

Because we live in a world so heavily shadowed by this memory, it has been easy for westerners of more recent generations to imagine that this was always the case—that weakness and victimhood were somehow inherent to China's nature. Through the twentieth century, China was a poor, vulnerable, and frequently chaotic nation that never seemed a contender for power. A third-world nation in the eyes of the wealthier countries, it was alternately a pariah or an object of sympathy. For that reason, the country's worldly aspirations of the late twentieth and early twenty-first centuries—to play a leading role in the UN, to host the Olympics, to put a man on the moon—were initially viewed by outsiders almost with bemusement, as if it were an overly ambitious upstart forgetting its proper place. That bemusement has now given way to alarm in many quarters as China strengthens its naval power to unprecedented levels and lays claim to vast swaths of contested maritime territory, asserting its power in ways completely unknown to living memory.

But over the long term, China is anything but an upstart. And as its economic and military power today grow far beyond anything it seemed capable of in the twentieth century, it is coming to resemble far less the weak, bullied nation that suffered the Opium War than the confident and central empire that preceded it. If we take this war not as a beginning but as an ending, and shift our sights instead back into the era before it took place, back before that ostensible dividing line with the modern era, we find a China that was powerful, prosperous, dominant, and above all envied. The memory of that lost era looms ever larger in China today, as a reminder of its potential (some would say rightful) place in the world, a nostalgic vision of what it could be once again.

This is a book about how the Opium War came to be—that is, how China declined from its eighteenth-century grandeur and how Britain became sufficiently emboldened to take advantage of that decline. The

central question of the war, as I see it, is not how Britain won, for that was never in serious doubt—in military terms the Opium War pitted the most advanced naval power in the world against an empire with a long and vulnerable coastline that had not needed a seagoing navy in more than a hundred years and so did not have one. Rather, the central question is a moral one: how Britain could have come to fight such a war in China in the first place—against, it should be noted, savage criticism both at home and abroad.

A sense of inevitability has always been projected backwards onto this era in hindsight, as if the war were always meant to be, but when viewed in the light of its own time the Opium War could hardly have been more counterintuitive. Aside from the audacity of sending a small fleet and a few thousand troops to make war on the world's largest empire, critics at the time pointed out that Britain was putting its entire future tea trade at risk for only the vaguest and least justifiable of goals. It seemed paradoxical in the 1830s that a liberal British government that had just abolished slavery could turn around and fight a war to support drug dealers, or that proponents of free trade would align their interests with smugglers. If we revisit these events as they actually unfolded, rather than as they have been reinterpreted afterward, we find far more opposition to this war in Britain and America on moral grounds, and far more respect for the sovereignty of China, than one would otherwise expect.

One reason a reader might not expect such opposition to this war is that we too easily forget how much admiration China used to command. Because of its great strength and prosperity in the late eighteenth century, Europeans viewed China in a dramatically different light than they did the other countries of the East. At a time when India was an object of British conquest, China was an object of respect, even awe. Occasional calls for the use of naval power to advance trade there were struck down as self-defeating, while British traders in Canton who made trouble were generally ordered home or at least reminded to behave themselves. In commerce, China held all

the cards. In stark contrast to the British Orientalist vision of India in the late eighteenth century—lost in the past, childlike and divided, a prize to be captured and controlled—China represented instead a strong, unified empire and another living civilization.

For that reason, readers who are familiar with the East India Company as a force of imperial conquest in India will find a very different face of it in China. When young Britons went to work for the Company overseas, it was India that attracted the military adventurers, the administrators, those with dreams of empire. The bean counters, by contrast, went to Canton. (And remarkably, it should be noted that in the early nineteenth century those bean counters in their quiet factories served the Company's bottom line in London far better than the conquerors of India did.) Even as goods—especially cotton and later opium—flowed steadily from India to China, there was almost no professional circulation between the two regions, where Company agents developed largely separate worldviews. When visitors acculturated to British India intruded into the separate world of Canton, they would often cause problems—not just with the Chinese, but with their more experienced countrymen as well.

The Opium War would force those two worlds together, tainting the old admiration and respect for China with a taste for blood. The war would never be universally popular in Britain, however, and fierce opposition to the use of force in China would linger for a long time afterward (another controversial China war in the 1850s would entail the dissolution of Parliament and new elections to disempower the British lawmakers who tried to stop it). Nevertheless, by the time the war finally began, an ongoing collision of two competing worldviews—between those British who respected China's power and prosperity and those who said it was no more enviable than India—reached a crucial threshold.

Thus, while the Opium War was ultimately a war over trade, the story of its origins is, to a significant degree, the story of how the

grand mystery of China faded in the cold light of knowledge as British subjects first began to learn the language and explore the interior of the country—and, pursuant to those projects, how the admiring Western views of China that were so prevalent in the late eighteenth century came to be eroded over time by disillusionment and contempt. Within that shift lies the key to understanding how Britain's government could come to a point in 1839 where it was willing to consider, for the first time in two hundred years, the use of violence to further its economic ends there.

Western histories of the Opium War for general readers have long told the story with a wink as the predictable triumph of West over East, a lesson taught to a childish people who dared to look down on the British as barbarians and tried to make them “kowtow” (a loaded term that used to indicate a specific ceremony of kneeling before the Qing emperor but now lives on in our language with the general meaning of “showing obsequious deference”). In such accounts, China typically appears as an unchanging backdrop, a caricature of unthinking traditions and arrogant mandarins stuck in the ancient past who are incapable of appreciating the rise of British power.²

With this book, I aim instead to give motion and life to the changing China that lay beyond the confines of Canton in the early nineteenth century—the rebellions, the spread of corruption, and the economic troubles that preoccupied the country's rulers and formed the wider context for the issues of foreign contact that lie at the story's center. Though the Chinese of this era have long been depicted as oblivious to the outside world, that is a false view. Coastal officials in China were fully aware that they had no capacity to resist a European navy; they knew what the British were capable of if given cause for war. Their naiveté, such as it was, resulted not from ignorance but from their faith in the stabilizing power of trade—in particular, their assumption that as long as the British enjoyed profitable commerce in Canton they would never have reason to resort to violence (a belief

that was shared along the way, incidentally, by nearly everyone in the British government who had a say in the matter).

On the Western side of my story is a cast of British and American sojourners who tried to get beyond their limited confines in Canton—traders, explorers, missionaries, government agents, and smugglers who, for a variety of reasons both commendable and not, tried to see, contact, and understand more of the country than they were supposed to. Together, they embodied the long Western dream of opening China—“opening” here not to mean that China was always and universally closed (it was not), but to capture how it was experienced by the British and Americans of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. They were tightly restricted in their ability to conduct trade, they were forbidden to learn the Chinese language, and they were kept within exceptionally close boundaries with no ability to travel farther into the empire or interact with the general population. Some wished it were otherwise, and their efforts in that direction would have great repercussions.

On the Chinese side, meanwhile, this is the story of an empire in decline from a lofty, almost unimaginable height—a wealthy, powerful, civilized state controlling roughly a third of the world’s population, riven by internal pressures of overpopulation, official corruption, and sectarian dissent (all three of which, notably, count again among the Chinese government’s most pressing concerns today). The characters on this side will include emperors and officials who tried to maintain the order of the state, rebels and others at the fringes of society who tried to subvert it, and reform-minded Confucian scholars who—far from clinging blindly to tradition—proposed creative and pragmatic solutions to the problems of their time. Together, the Chinese and Western sides of the story are meant to give the reader a broader vision of this grand eclipse of empires in the early nineteenth century—China, crossing its meridian and entering into a long decline, while Britain rose to new nationalistic heights through its victories in the Napoleonic Wars and beyond. The

Opium War was the point where those two arcs finally crossed.

In closing, a word on inevitability. Although this early age of contact between China and the West has long been treated in retrospect as if it were somehow always destined to end in war, it was not. The Opium War did not result from an intractable clash of civilizations, as it would later be framed in the West. Neither did it represent the culmination of some grand imperial master plan, as it is generally understood in China. To nearly all parties concerned, including even the government ministers who launched it, the war was all but unthinkable until it actually began. The truth is that over the long term, the foreigners and Chinese who came together at Canton found far more common ground than conflict. This book will have much to say about the individuals who made the war possible, but they are by no means the whole story. It is also a book about the many others, now mostly forgotten, who stood against the more familiar currents of their time and can remind us how differently the course of events might have gone—among them British activists who opposed the opium trade, Chinese scholars who counseled pragmatism in foreign relations, and Americans whose relationships with their Chinese counterparts set a more positive pattern than most of the British. As we look to the future of our own era, with China's arc once again ascendant, such figures are every bit as important for us to remember as the ones who caused all the trouble.

PART I



Gracious Spring

PART II



The Milk of Paradise

PART III



Blood-Ravenous Autumn

CODA

Houqua and Forbes

John Murray Forbes was already getting out of the China trade by the time the Opium War began. When his brothers had first gone to work in Canton for their uncle in the 1820s, and when he followed them there in 1830, it was for lack of any comparable opportunities closer to home. But once he was back in New England as a man of independent means, he found himself lured away from Russell & Co. into new directions. By the 1840s there were opportunities beginning to offer themselves in America's westward expansion that simply hadn't existed when his uncle first started sending ships to China after the Revolution, opportunities that seemed to John "better than Trade & far less troublesome"—less troublesome, that is, than the darkening clouds of Canton.¹

Back when he was still living in China, John had savaged his older brother Robert for investing in a railroad ("cutting a paltry *dash* in a paltry city of a paltry country"), but by the time he got back to Massachusetts in the late 1830s he could see for himself the potential that rail held. By 1843 he was putting his China money into American railroad bonds, and by 1846, at a time when there were about five thousand miles of track total in the United States, he judged the field suitably mature that he entered into it himself. For an investment of \$200,000, he bought a 10 percent share of the Central Railroad

originating at Detroit—a line then only a quarter finished and being sold off at 70 cents to the dollar by a bankrupt state of Michigan. The investment was made possible not by the personal funds he had brought home with him from China, which were far from sufficient, but rather from the half million dollars of investment funds Houqua had entrusted to him.²

Forbes became president of that railroad, soon renamed the Michigan Central, which when complete would connect Lake Erie all the way to Lake Michigan. From that starting point he went on to become one of the leading railroad magnates in the antebellum United States, building a new American fortune on the foundations of the old Canton trade. He was conservative but smart about his investments, and though he let plenty of opportunities slip past (turning down, for instance, the option to buy a huge tract of land in what would eventually be the city limits of Chicago for \$1.25 an acre), his holdings of land and railroad securities grew dramatically over the decades to come. He bought up land to build an expansive estate in Milton, Massachusetts, where he fashioned himself a country squire, planted twenty thousand trees, and began resettling his extended family. He bought the seven-mile-long island of Naushon next to Martha's Vineyard that is still privately held by his descendants. He invested widely in New England land mortgages and western rolling stock. He spoke of wanting to connect Boston to the Mississippi River and then build the first railroad in China.³

Throughout the expansion of his railroad empire, John Murray Forbes continued to invest Houqua's money in the same ventures where he put his own funds, effectively continuing the partnership they had first established in Canton when he was all of eighteen years old and Houqua sent his cargoes of tea abroad under the young Forbes's name. Their partnership had always been informal, based on trust and affection rather than contracts, and Forbes kept to its spirit assiduously as he represented Houqua's interests in the United States.

In contrast to the dominant currents of the Canton trade, where the foreigners in their ships all converged on the Middle Kingdom from their far-flung nations, while the merchants of Canton sat fixed at the center and let the world revolve around them, here was evidence that the flow of capital could work just as well in the other direction, that a Chinese merchant could buy into the expanding economy of the United States. By the time John Murray Forbes began returning the funds to Houqua's heirs in the latter part of the century, the Hong merchant's U.S. investments would represent major holdings in railroad securities that read like a map of the opening of the American Midwest—the Chicago, Burlington and Quincy Railroad; the Dixon, Peoria and Hannibal; the Carthage and Burlington; the Illinois Grand Trunk Railway; the American Central.⁴

All that was yet to come, though, when John Murray Forbes wrote to Houqua in August 1843 just as the Opium War was coming to its end. In the letter, he tried to imagine what the war might ultimately mean for his old friend. The Canton system would be essentially dissolved as a result of the British treaty. Houqua's enormous fortune had come from his long success as a Hong merchant, part of the small monopoly on the Chinese side of the Canton trade, but now the British would be able to work with anyone they wished. This would remove Houqua from his centrality to China's foreign trade but it was also, Forbes noted, a blessing in its own way. Houqua had long been trapped in his position between the foreign merchants and the Chinese government, blamed for any problems that arose, regularly squeezed for massive contributions—toward the White Lotus suppression, toward the actions against pirates. Most recently, the Hong merchants had helped pay for the ransom of Canton from a threatened British occupation in the war, to which Houqua personally contributed more than \$1 million.⁵ His overall losses in the war would total more than \$2 million all told, a figure worth billions in economic power today.⁶ But Forbes, his young and trusted protégé, realized that the end of the war might actually be Houqua's liberation.

You should come to America, Forbes told him. “If when the Hong system ceases, the Mandarins continue to exact money from you, I do not see where it will end unless you will make up your mind to take one of my ships...for the conveyance of yourself and family and come to this country, where every man is called upon to pay his fair share of the expenses of the government.”⁷ Instead of having the weight of the Canton government’s finances on his shoulders, Houqua could be a free man in an equal society. And if the climate in New England might be too cold for the comfort of an elderly Chinese businessman who had spent his life in subtropical Canton, Forbes suggested he could look into buying property in Florida, or in the Caribbean, “where the climate is beautiful, and where for a small sum you could buy as much land as is covered by Canton.” Houqua could live there however he pleased; he would have his own Canton, on his own terms. John said he would relish the chance to sail down from Massachusetts to visit him. Maybe he would come every winter.

Houqua died on September 4, 1843, never having gotten the letter.

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It was a privilege and a pleasure to work again with Andrew Miller at Knopf; in this day and age, I realize how fortunate I am to have an editor who devotes such time and energy to the books he publishes. Andrew's keen insight and sense of structure helped shape and refine this book over several drafts in ways I never could have accomplished alone. The other staff at Knopf who worked on the book were amazing as always—Zakiya Harris, in particular, guided me through the many twists and turns of the production process with patience and good cheer. Great thanks to Lisa Montebello for managing the production of the book, Soonyoung Kwon for designing the text and layout, and John Vorhees for designing the jacket. Thanks as well to Paula Robbins and Terry Bush at Mapping Specialists, Ltd., for

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Home is where I find my greatest inspiration. My son, Eliot, was born as I was starting the research for this book and he is just now learning how to read as it comes to press. The same was true of my older daughter, Lucy, for my previous book. Putting aside the question of whether I can write another book without providing them with an additional sibling, I thank both of them for the joy and perspective and sense of purpose they give me. And none of this would be possible, or even have a point, without my wife, Francie Lin, who keeps me centered and balanced and makes everything worthwhile.

Notes

INTRODUCTION Canton

1. This description of Canton is a collage drawn from a range of sources including, in no particular order: Valery M. Garrett, *Heaven Is High, the Emperor Far Away: Merchants and Mandarins in Old Canton* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2002); Robert Bickers, *The Scramble for China: Foreign Devils in the Qing Empire, 1832–1914* (London: Allen Lane, 2011); Aeneas Anderson, *A Narrative of the British Embassy to China, in the Years 1792, 1793, and 1794* (London: J. Debrett, 1795); James Johnson, *An Account of a Voyage to India, China, &c. in His Majesty's Ship Caroline* (London: Richard Phillips, 1806); Harriet Low Hillard, *My Mother's Journal: A Young Lady's Diary of Five Years Spent in Manila, Macao, and the Cape of Good Hope*, ed. Katharine Hillard (Boston: George H. Ellis, 1900); Jürgen Osterhammel, *The Transformation of the World: A Global History of the Nineteenth Century* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2014); Samuel Kidd, "Canton," in *The Christian Keepsake, and Missionary Annual*, ed. William Ellis (London: Fisher, Son, & Co., 1836), pp. 170–78; Jonathan Spence, *God's Chinese Son* (New York: Norton, 1996); Charles Godfrey Leland, *Pidgin-English Sing-song; or, Songs and Stories in the China-English Dialect* (London: Trübner and Co., 1876); William C. Hunter, *The 'Fan Kwae' at Canton before Treaty Days, 1825–1844* (London: Kegan Paul, Trench & Co., 1882); Tiffany Osmond, *The Canton Chinese: or, The American's Sojourn in the Celestial Empire* (Boston, MA, and Cambridge, UK: James Munroe, 1849); Anon., *An Intercepted Letter from J—T—, Esq. Writer at Canton to His Friend in Dublin Ireland* (Dublin: M. N. Mahon, 1804); Jacques Downs, *The Golden Ghetto: The American Commercial Community at Canton and the Shaping of American China Policy, 1784–1844*

(Bethlehem, PA: Lehigh University Press, 1997); Samuel Wells Williams, *The Middle Kingdom* (London: W. H. Allen, 1883); and personal letters of Thomas Manning and Robert Bennet Forbes.

2. One welcome exception to this trend in general-interest books on the Opium War is Julia Lovell's recent *The Opium War: Drugs, Dreams, and the Making of China* (London: Picador, 2011), which is especially recommended to the reader interested in military history as it goes into much greater detail on the events of the war itself than the book at hand does.

PROLOGUE The Journey of James Flint

1. Hosea Ballou Morse, *The Chronicles of the East India Company Trading to China, 1635–1834* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1926), vol. 1, pp. 266–67; George Anson, *A Voyage Round the World, in the Years 1740–1744* (Edinburgh: Campbell Denovan, 1781), vol. 2, book 3, p. 244.
2. Charles Frederick Noble, *A Voyage to the East Indies in 1747 and 1748* (London: T. Becket and P. A. Dehondt, at the Tully's Head, 1762), p. 306; Petition of James Flint to the Court of Directors of the United East India Company (to become a supercargo), read in court February 19, 1745, British Library, East India Office Records, IOR/E/1/33.
3. "Transactions of a Voyage in the *Success Snow* from Canton to Limpo and afterwards to Tien-Tsin, 1759," British Library, East India Office Records, IOR/G/12/195 (China and Japan, Miscellaneous Papers, 1710–1814), item 12; Susan Reed Stifler, "The Language Students of the East India Company's Canton Factory," *Journal of the North China Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society* 69 (1938): 46–82, see p. 49; Robert Bennet Forbes, *Remarks on China and the China Trade* (Boston: Samuel N. Dickinson, 1844), pp. 22–23.
4. Details of Flint's voyage are taken from his journal, "Transactions of a Voyage in the *Success Snow* from Canton to Limpo and afterwards to Tien-Tsin, 1759," BL IOR/G/12/195. The White River (Chinese: Bai He) was best known to foreigners at the time as the Peiho.
5. Morse, *Chronicles*, vol. 1, p. 75.
6. *Da Qing Gaozong Chun (Qianlong) huangdi shilu* (Taipei: Taiwan

Huawen shuju, 1964), *juan* 598, pp. 5a–6b.

7. As translated in the *Canton Register*, August 25, 1830; also in Anon. (“A Visitor to China”), *Address to the People of Great Britain, Explanatory of Our Commercial Relations with the Empire of China* (London: Smith. Elder and Co., 1836), pp. 62–63.
8. The edict ordering the beheading of Flint’s teacher is in *Da Qing Gaozong Chun (Qianlong) huangdi shilu*, *juan* 598, pp. 5a–6b.
9. On Flint dying, see, for example, p. 124 of Zhang Dechang, “Qingdai yapian zhanzheng qian zhi Zhong-Xi yanhai tongshang,” in Bao Zunpeng et al., eds., *Zhongguo jindaishi luncong*, part 1, vol. 3, pp. 91–132. On tofu, see Benjamin Franklin to John Bartram, January 11, 1770, in William Darlington, ed., *Memorials of John Bartram and Humphry Marshall* (Philadelphia: Lindsay & Blakiston, 1849), pp. 404–5.
10. Adam Smith, *An Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations*, 2nd ed. (London: W. Strahan and T. Cadell, 1778), vol. 1, pp. 87–88.
11. Voltaire, *A Philosophical Dictionary*, vol. 3 of 10 (Cannibals–Councils), pp. 81–82, in series vol. 7 of *The Works of Voltaire, A Contemporary Version*, 43 vols. (Akron, OH: Werner Company, 1905).
12. A. E. Van-Braam Houckgeest, *An Authentic Account of the Embassy of the Dutch East-India Company, to the Court of the Emperor of China, In the Years 1794 and 1795* (London: R. Phillips, 1798), vol. 1, pp. v–vi.
13. Kenneth Pomeranz, *The Great Divergence: China, Europe, and the Making of the Modern World Economy* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2000), pp. 36–39, 116–22.
14. Aeneas Anderson, *A Narrative of the British Embassy to China, in the Years 1792, 1793, and 1794* (London: J. Debrett, 1795), p. v.
15. Henry Defeynes (Monsieur de Monsart), *An Exact and Curious Survey of all the East Indies, even to Canton, the chiefe Cittie of China* (London: Thomas Dawson, 1615), p. 30 (changing numeral 6 to “six”).
16. Lt.-Col. Sir Richard Carnac Temple, ed., *The Travels of Peter Mundy in Europe and Asia, 1608–1667* (London: Hakluyt Society, 1919), vol. 3, part 1, p. 173.
17. Ibid., vol. 3, part 1, p. 178.
18. Anon. (“A Looker-On”), *Chinese Commerce and Disputes, from 1640 to*

1840. *Addressed to Tea Dealers and Consumers* (London: W. Morrison, 1840), p. 8.
19. Ibid.; and Andrew Ljungstedt, *An Historical Sketch of the Portuguese Settlements in China* (Boston: James Monroe and Co., 1836), pp. 276–78.
 20. Temple, *The Travels of Peter Mundy*, vol. 3, part 1, p. 191.
 21. Morse, *Chronicles*, vol. 1, p. 158.
 22. Michael Greenberg, *British Trade and the Opening of China, 1800–1842* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1951), p. 3.

CHAPTER 1 A Time of Wonder

1. Macartney letter to the Chairman of the East India Company, September 26, 1792, British Library, India Office Records, IOR/G/12/92. On naval preparations: William James, *The Naval History of Great Britain, from the Declaration of War by France in 1793 to the Accession of George IV* (London: Richard Bentley, 1859), vol. 1, p. 53; George Leonard Staunton, *An Authentic Account of an Embassy from the King of Great Britain to the Emperor of China* (Philadelphia: Robert Campbell, 1799), vol. 1, p. 17. In accordance with English usage of the time, “Chinese emperor” here is meant to indicate the emperor of China; it does not imply that the emperor was ethnically Chinese. The emperors of the Qing dynasty were Manchu.
2. Helen Robbins, *Our First Ambassador to China: An Account of the Life and Correspondence of George, Earl of Macartney, with Extracts from His Letters, and the Narrative of His Experiences in China, as Told by Himself, 1737–1806* (New York: Dutton and Company, 1908), p. 220.
3. Roland Thorne, “Macartney, George, Earl Macartney (1737–1806),” *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004–13).
4. Aeneas Anderson, *A Narrative of the British Embassy to China, in the Years 1792, 1793, and 1794* (London: J. Debrett, 1795), p. 146.
5. George Macartney, *An Embassy to China: Being the Journal Kept by Lord Macartney during His Embassy to the Emperor Ch’ien-lung, 1793–1794*, ed. J. L. Cranmer-Byng (Hamden, CT: Archon Books, 1963), p. 213.
6. U.S.-British comparison based on table for 1792 in Hosea Ballou Morse,

The Chronicles of the East India Company Trading to China, 1635–1834 (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1926–29), vol. 2, p. 193; thirty-nine British ships visited Canton that year (including both Company and private vessels), versus six from the United States.

7. “The China Trade,” *Times*, June 8, 1791.
8. Earl H. Pritchard, “The Instructions of the East India Company to Lord Macartney on His Embassy to China,” part 1, *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland*, no. 2 (April 1938): 201–30, see pp. 202–3 and 210–11.
9. Staunton, *An Authentic Account*, p. 18.
10. Ibid., p. 17 (changing “Pekin” to “Beijing”).
11. William Jardine Proudfoot, *Biographical Memoir of James Dinwiddie, LL.D., Astronomer in the British Embassy to China, 1792, ’3, ’4* (Liverpool: Edward Howell, 1868), p. 26.
12. William Alexander, “Journal of a voyage to Peking in China, on board the ‘Hindustan’ E.I.M., which accompanied Lord Macartney on his embassy to the Emperor,” British Library, Add MS 35174, fol. 86; Staunton, *An Authentic Account*, pp. 492–98; the full catalog of gifts is in the British Library, India Office Records, IOR/G/12/92, fols. 155–86.
13. *Times*, September 7, 1792, p. 2 (no article title).
14. Proudfoot, *Memoir of James Dinwiddie*, pp. 26, 27.
15. “Letter from King George III to the Emperor of China,” in Morse, *Chronicles*, vol. 2, pp. 244–47.
16. Staunton, *An Authentic Account*, pp. 47–48.
17. Baring and Burges to Macartney, September 8, 1792, quoted in Pritchard, “The Instructions of the East India Company to Lord Macartney,” part 1, p. 210.
18. George Leonard Staunton, *An Historical Account of the Embassy to the Emperor of China, undertaken by order of the King of Great Britain* (London: John Stockdale, 1797), p. 20.
19. Staunton, *An Historical Account*, p. 21; details of visit taken from 1792 diary of Staunton’s son, in the George Thomas Staunton Papers, Rubenstein Library, Duke University, Durham, NC, accessed via Adam Matthew Digital, “China: Trade, Politics and Culture 1793–1980.”
20. Macartney’s journal, *An Embassy to China*, p. 231, says they were orphans

or purchased; D. E. Mungello, *The Great Encounter of China and the West, 1500–1800* (Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield, 1999), p. 117.

21. Hamilton letter to Staunton from Naples, February 21, 1792, Staunton Papers, Duke University; Mungello, *The Great Encounter*, p. 140.
22. Staunton, *An Historical Account*, p. 21. Macartney himself said they possessed “little energy or powers of persuasion”: Macartney, *An Embassy to China*, p. 231.
23. Macartney to Chairman and Deputy Chairman of the East India Company, from near Sumatra, March 25, 1793, British Library, India Office Records, IOR/G/12/92, fols. 16–17.
24. George Thomas Staunton letter to his mother, December 9, 1792, Staunton Papers, Duke University.
25. Robbins, *Our First Ambassador*, pp. 203–4; Anderson, *A Narrative of the British Embassy to China*, pp. 27–28; George Thomas Staunton diary, February 1–2, 1793, Staunton Papers, Duke University.
26. Susan Reed Stifler, “The Language Students of the East India Company’s Canton Factory,” *Journal of the North China Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society* 69 (1938): 46–82, see p. 52; Macartney, *An Embassy to China*, p. 64; on Jacobus Li interpreting into Italian rather than English, see Macartney letter to Henry Dundas, November 9, 1793, British Library, India Office Records, IOR/G/12/92, fol. 35.
27. George Thomas Staunton diary for 1792–93, pp. 108, 207–9, 213–14, 223, 241; Anderson, *A Narrative of the British Embassy*, p. 54.
28. Leonard Blussé, *Visible Cities: Canton, Nagasaki, and Batavia and the Coming of the Americans* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2008), p. 10.
29. Anderson, *A Narrative of the British Embassy*, pp. 34, 35.
30. Macartney letter to Henry Dundas from near Hangzhou, Zhejiang province, November 9, 1793, British Library, India Office Records, IOR/G/12/92, fol. 32.
31. Macartney, *An Embassy to China*, pp. 63, 69.
32. Anderson, *A Narrative of the British Embassy*, p. 57; William Alexander diary, entries for July 9, 11, 22, and 23, 1793.
33. William Alexander diary, entry for July 17, 1793 (“it was from us few, the Chinese were to form their opinions of the English Character”); “gaining

the good will”: Staunton, *An Historical Account*, p. 232.

34. Staunton, *An Historical Account*, p. 234.
35. Macartney, *An Embassy to China*, pp. 69, 101.
36. *Ibid.*, pp. 66, 74, and 75.
37. Macartney, *An Embassy to China*, p. 71; William Alexander diary, August 1, 1793; Anderson, *A Narrative of the British Embassy*, p. 63.
38. Macartney, *An Embassy to China*, pp. 77–78; “stumped along”: William Alexander diary, August 9, 1793.
39. Macartney, *An Embassy to China*, p. 112.
40. Anderson, *A Narrative of the British Embassy*, p. 137; Macartney, *An Embassy to China*, p. 114; Staunton, *An Authentic Account*, vol. 2, pp. 61–62.
41. Macartney, *An Embassy to China*, p. 114; Proudfoot, *Dinwiddie*, p. 51.
42. Anderson, *A Narrative of the British Embassy*, p. 138; Staunton, *An Authentic Account*, vol. 2, p. 8.
43. Caleb Cushing to John Nelson, July 13, 1844: “It has been supposed heretofore erroneously that a great Minister of State existed at Peking [Beijing] called the ‘Grand Colao’ whom it was proper for foreign Governments to address.” *Public Documents Printed by Order of the Senate of the United States, Second Session of the Twenty-Eighth Congress* (Washington, DC: Gales and Seaton, 1845), vol. 2, no. 67, p. 55.
44. Anderson, *A Narrative of the British Embassy*, pp. 139–41.
45. *Ibid.*, pp. 148–49; the full thirty-two-page list of gifts given by Qianlong to the British embassy is in the British Library, India Office Records, IOR/G/12/92, fols. 317–49.
46. Staunton, *An Authentic Account*, p. 68.
47. Macartney to Dundas, November 9, 1793, British Library, India Office Records, IOR/G/12/92, fols. 56–57.
48. Staunton, *An Authentic Account*, pp. 68, 70.
49. Macartney, *An Embassy to China*, p. 118.
50. Anderson, *A Narrative of the British Embassy*, pp. 146–47.
51. Staunton, *An Authentic Account*, p. 77.
52. *Ibid.*, p. 78.
53. The English original of the letter is in Morse, *Chronicles*, vol. 2, pp. 244–

- 47; the Chinese translation is in *Ying shi Majiaerni fang Hua dang'an shiliao huibian* (Beijing: Guoji wenhua chubanshe, 1996), pp. 162–64.
54. Macartney, *An Embassy to China*, p. 124.
55. George Thomas Staunton diary for 1793–94, entry for September 14, 1793.
56. Anderson, *A Narrative of the British Embassy*, p. 148; Staunton, *An Authentic Account*, p. 78.
57. Ye Xiaoqing, “Ascendant Peace in the Four Seas: Tributary Drama and the Macartney Mission of 1793,” *Late Imperial China* 26, no. 2 (December 2005): 89–113, see p. 100.
58. Macartney, *An Embassy to China*, p. 143; Anderson, *A Narrative of the British Embassy*, pp. 179–80.
59. Proudfoot, *Dinwiddie*, p. 51. Letters read: Macartney, *An Embassy to China*, p. 102; Alain Peyrefitte, *The Immobile Empire*, trans. Jon Rothschild (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1992), p. 271.
60. George Thomas Staunton diary, September 29, 1793.
61. Proudfoot, *Dinwiddie*, p. 53.
62. Anderson, *A Narrative of the British Embassy*, p. 171.
63. *Ibid.*, p. 181 (changing “Pekin” to “Beijing”).
64. Proudfoot, *Dinwiddie*, pp. 54–55.
65. Edict of QL58/8/6 (September 10, 1793), in *Ying shi Majiaerni fang Hua dang'an shiliao huibian*, pp. 148–49.
66. “Letter from the Emperor of China to the King of England,” British Library, India Office Records, IOR/G/12/92, fols. 243–55; Qianlong’s original edict of QL58/8/20 (September 24, 1793) is in *Ying shi Majiaerni fang Hua dang'an shiliao huibian*, pp. 165–66.
67. As in the paragraph above, quotations are from the translation prepared by the East India Company at the time, except for the final lines (from “Strange and costly” onward), which, because they are so well known in that form, accord to the most commonly quoted translation of this document, a much later translation found in J. O. P. Bland and Edmund Backhouse, *Annals & Memoirs of the Court of Peking (from the 16th to the 20th Century)* (Boston: Houghton, Mifflin and Company, 1914), pp. 324–25.
68. Edict of QL58/8/29 (October 3, 1793), in *Ying shi Majiaerni fang Hua dang'an shiliao huibian*, pp. 172–75; the translation prepared for the

British government at the time is in the British Library, India Office Records, IOR/G/12/92, fols. 283–98.

69. Macartney, *An Embassy to China*, p. 171.
70. *Ibid.*, pp. 170, 211.
71. *Ibid.*, pp. 212, 213.
72. “Embassies to China,” *Chinese Repository*, vol. 6 (May 1837): 17–27, see p. 18.
73. *Ibid.*, p. 26.
74. Peter Pindar (pseudonym for John Wolcot), “Ode to the Lion Ship of War,” in *The Works of Peter Pindar, Esq.* (London: J. Walker, 1809), vol. 3, pp. 348–50.
75. Macartney, *An Embassy to China*, pp. 212–13.
76. *Ibid.*, pp. 236, 238.
77. *Ibid.*, p. 239.

CHAPTER 2 Black Wind

1. “Hung-li,” in Arthur W. Hummel, ed., *Eminent Chinese of the Ch’ing Period* (Taipei: SMC Publishing, Inc., 1991), vol. 1, p. 369; John E. Wills, *Mountain of Fame: Portraits in Chinese History* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1994), p. 234; Mark Elliott, *Emperor Qianlong: Son of Heaven, Man of the World* (New York: Longman, 2009), p. 8.
2. Clae Waltham, *Shu Ching: Book of History* (Chicago: Henry Regnery Company, 1971), p. 134; Ye Xiaoqing, “Ascendant Peace in the Four Seas: Tributary Drama and the Macartney Mission of 1793,” *Late Imperial China* 26, no. 2 (December 2005): 89–113, see p. 105.
3. Elliott, *Emperor Qianlong*, p. 138; Ye, “Ascendant Peace in the Four Seas,” pp. 105–6.
4. Elliott, *Emperor Qianlong*, p. 134; Chang Te-Ch’ang, “The Economic Role of the Imperial Household in the Ch’ing Dynasty,” *Journal of Asian Studies* 31, no. 2 (February 1972): 243–73, see pp. 256–59; Preston M. Torbert, *The Ch’ing Imperial Household Department: A Study of Its Organization and Principal Functions, 1662–1796* (Cambridge, MA: Council on East Asian Studies, Harvard University, 1977), p. 100 *etc.*

5. Population figures from Ho Ping-ti, *Studies on the Population of China, 1368–1953* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard East Asian Series, 1959), pp. 23, 264, 270, and 278, as cited in Wang Wensheng, “White Lotus Rebels and South China Pirates: Social Crises and Political Changes in the Qing Empire, 1796–1810” (Ph.D. dissertation, University of California, Irvine, 2008), p. 35, n. 60.
6. Ssu-yü Teng, “Chinese Influence on the Western Examination System,” *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 7, no. 4 (September 1943): 267–312; Voltaire, from “Essai sur les mœurs,” and Montesquieu, from “De l’esprit des lois,” book 8, chapter 21 (Paris, 1878), both quoted in *ibid.*, p. 281; Derek Bodde, “Chinese Ideas in the West,” prepared for the Committee on Asiatic Studies in American Education, Washington, DC, 1948.
7. Zhang Zhengmo confession, in *Qing zhongqi wusheng bailianjiao qiyi ziliao* (Suzhou: Jiangsu renmin chubanshe, 1981), vol. 5, pp. 35–36; Cecily McCaffrey gives a wonderful treatment of the rebellion in the Han River Highlands in “Living through Rebellion: A Local History of the White Lotus Uprising in Hubei, China” (Ph.D. dissertation, University of California, San Diego, 2003). I have been much influenced by her account.
8. Unless otherwise noted, following paragraphs based on Zhang’s confession in *Qing zhongqi wusheng bailianjiao qiyi ziliao* (hereafter QZQWS), vol. 5, pp. 35–36.
9. Many times over: Wang, “White Lotus Rebels,” p. 109, citing Eduard B. Vermeer, “The Mountain Frontier in Late Imperial China: Economic and Social Developments in the Bashan,” *T’oung Pao*, 2nd series, vol. 77, livr. 4/5 (1991): 300–329, see p. 306.
10. QZQWS, vol. 1, p. 18.
11. Kwang-Ching Liu, “Religion and Politics in the White Lotus Rebellion of 1796 in Hubei,” in *Heterodoxy in Late Imperial China*, ed. Kwang-Ching Liu and Richard Shek (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2004), p. 293.
12. Second confession of Zhang Zhengmo, QZQWS, vol. 5, pp. 36–41, see p. 37.
13. QZQWS, vol. 4, p. 165.
14. Confession of Xiang Yaoming, *ibid.*, vol. 5, p. 4.
15. Second confession of Zhang Zhengmo, *ibid.*, vol. 5, p. 40.

16. George Macartney, *An Embassy to China: Being the Journal Kept by Lord Macartney during His Embassy to the Emperor Ch'ien-lung, 1793–1794*, ed. J. L. Cranmer-Byng (Hamden, CT: Archon Books, 1963), p. 202; George Leonard Staunton, *An Authentic Account of an Embassy from the King of Great Britain to the Emperor of China* (Philadelphia: Robert Campbell, 1799), vol. 2, pp. 78–79.
17. Wook Yoon, “Prosperity with the Help of ‘Villains,’ 1776–1799: A Review of the Heshen Clique and Its Era,” *T'oung Pao* 98, issue 4/5 (2012): 479–527, p. 520.
18. Harold Kahn, *Monarchy in the Emperor's Eyes: Image and Reality in the Ch'ien-lung Reign* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1971), p. 255.
19. On the Grand Council, see Wook Yoon, “Prosperity with the Help of ‘Villains,’ ” pp. 483–85.
20. Staunton, *An Authentic Account*, vol. 2, p. 66.
21. Philip Kuhn and Susan Mann, “Dynastic Decline and the Roots of Rebellion,” in *The Cambridge History of China*, vol. 10, *Late Ch'ing, 1800–1911, Part 1*, ed. John K. Fairbank and Denis Twitchett (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1978), pp. 107–62, see pp. 127–28; David Nivison, “Ho-shen and His Accusers,” in *Confucianism in Action*, ed. David Nivison and Arthur Wright (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1959), pp. 209–43, see p. 211.
22. Nivison, “Ho-shen and His Accusers,” pp. 232–34.
23. Dai Yingcong, “Civilians Go into Battle: Hired Militias in the White Lotus War,” *Asia Major*, 3rd series, vol. 22, part 2 (2009): 145–78, see p. 153.
24. QZQWS, vol. 4, pp. 164, 268; McCaffrey, “Living through Rebellion,” pp. 161–62.
25. QZQWS, vol. 4, p. 267.
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27. Blaine Campbell Gaustad, “Religious Sectarianism and the State in Mid Qing China: Background to the White Lotus Uprising of 1796–1804” (Ph.D. dissertation, University of California, Berkeley, 1994), p. 315; Liu, “Religion and Politics in the White Lotus Rebellion,” pp. 286–87, 289, 296–97, 301; Robert Eric Entenmann, “Migration and Settlement in Sichuan, 1644–1796” (Ph.D. dissertation, Harvard University, 1982), pp.

236–37.

28. On Qianlong's unwillingness to send elite Manchu banner troops, see Dai, "Civilians Go into Battle," pp. 149, 153.
29. Dai, "Civilians Go into Battle," pp. 153–55; Wang, "White Lotus Rebels," pp. 304–5.
30. Dai, "Civilians," pp. 156–58; Wang Wensheng, *White Lotus Rebels and South China Pirates: Crisis and Reform in the Qing Empire* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2014), p. 142.
31. Le Bao's report, from *Jinli xin bian*, excerpted in Jiang Weiming, *Chuan-Hu-Shan bailianjiao qiyi ziliao jilu* (Chengdu: Sichuan renmin chubanshe, 1980), pp. 214–15.
32. Kahn, *Monarchy*, p. 257; Hummell, *Eminent Chinese*, p. 289; Wang, "White Lotus Rebels," pp. 282, 292–94; Beatrice Bartlett, *Monarchs and Ministers: The Grand Council in Mid-Ch'ing China, 1723–1820* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1991), pp. 231–38.
33. Dai, "Civilians Go into Battle," pp. 159–62.
34. Zhang Xuecheng, quoted and translated by David Nivison in *The Life and Thought of Chang Hsüeh-ch'eng* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1966), p. 268.
35. Wang Huizu, translated by David Nivison in "Ho-shen and His Accusers," pp. 216–17.
36. Nivison, *The Life and Thought of Chang Hsüeh-ch'eng*, p. 268.
37. Translation based on Wang Wensheng's in "White Lotus Rebels," p. 282.
38. Wang, "White Lotus Rebels," p. 300.

CHAPTER 3 The Edge of the World

1. Canton as third-largest city in the world in 1800: Jürgen Osterhammel, *The Transformation of the World: A Global History of the Nineteenth Century* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2014), p. 251. All told, Chinese cities comprised four of the top ten in the world.
2. Patrick Hanan, trans., *Mirage* (Hong Kong: Chinese University Press, 2014), p. 82 (changing "Guangdong" to "Canton").
3. George Leonard Staunton, *An Authentic Account of an Embassy from the*

King of Great Britain to the Emperor of China (Philadelphia: Robert Campbell, 1799), vol. 2, p. 360. The saga of the unfortunate seal hunters on Amsterdam Island, who would remain stranded there for more than three years, is told in the memoir of Pierre François Péron, one of the Frenchmen involved, published as *Mémoires du capitaine Péron, sur ses voyages...*, 2 vols. (Paris: Brissot-Thivars, 1824).

4. The line-of-battle sketch in Gower's hand is in William Alexander's diary, p. 81, William Alexander, "Journal of a voyage to Pekin in China, on board the 'Hindostan' E.I.M., which accompanied Lord Macartney on his embassy to the Emperor," British Library, Add MS 35174, fol. 86.
5. Macartney to the Chairman and Deputy Chairman of the East India Company, September 4, 1794, British Library, India Office Records, IOR/G/12/92, fols. 487–88; Staunton, *An Authentic Account*, vol. 2, p. 465.
6. Quoted in James Fichter, *So Great a Proffit: How the East Indies Trade Transformed Anglo-American Capitalism* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2010), p. 207.
7. Herbert J. Wood, "England, China, and the Napoleonic Wars," *Pacific Historical Review* 9, no. 2 (June 1940): 139–56, see p. 141.
8. *Ibid.*, p. 142.
9. Frederic Wakeman Jr., "Drury's Occupation of Macau and China's Response to Early Modern Imperialism," *East Asian History* 28 (December 2004): 27–34, see p. 28.
10. *Ibid.*, p. 29.
11. George Thomas Staunton, *Memoirs of the Chief Incidents of the Public Life of Sir George Thomas Staunton, Bart.*, printed for private circulation (London: L. Booth, 1856), pp. 15–17.
12. Staunton letter to his parents, July 28, 1799, in the George Thomas Staunton Papers, Rubenstein Library, Duke University, Durham, NC, accessed via Adam Matthew Digital, "China: Trade, Politics and Culture 1793–1980." Interestingly enough, Macartney left China in 1793 with the impression that the Company supercargoes at Canton were going to start encouraging their junior staff to begin learning Chinese, though nothing seems to have come of that; Macartney to the Chairman and Deputy Chairman of the East India Company, September 4, 1794, British Library, India Office Records, IOR/G/12/92, fol. 488.

13. Staunton to his parents, July 15, 1799, Staunton Papers, Duke University.
14. Staunton to his parents, July 28, 1799.
15. Staunton, *Memoirs of the Chief Incidents*, p. 25.
16. C. H. Philips, *The East India Company, 1784–1834* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1940), p. 14, n. 6.
17. Jodi Rhea Bartley Eastberg, “West Meets East: British Perceptions of China through the Life and Works of Sir George Thomas Staunton, 1781–1859” (Ph.D. dissertation, Marquette University, 2009), p. 95.
18. Staunton, *Memoirs*, p. 26.
19. Staunton to his father, April 18, 1801.
20. Staunton to his father, February 26, 1801.
21. Hosea Ballou Morse, *The Chronicles of the East India Company Trading to China, 1635–1834* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1926), vol. 2, p. 338.
22. Staunton to his father, March 27, 1800.
23. Morse, *Chronicles*, vol. 2, p. 342 (capitalizing the “h” in “His”).
24. Staunton to his father, March 27, 1800.
25. Staunton to his father, January 19, 1801; to his parents, June 27, 1800.
26. Staunton, *Memoirs*, p. 39.
27. William C. Hunter, *The ‘Fan Kwae’ at Canton before Treaty Days, 1825–1844* (London: Kegan Paul, Trench & Co., 1882), p. 126.
28. Thomas Noon Talfourd, *The Letters of Charles Lamb, with a Sketch of His Life* (London: Edward Moxon, 1837), vol. 1, footnote on p. 208 (Talfourd’s words, not Lamb’s).
29. Thomas Manning letter to Joseph Banks (draft, 1806), Manning Papers, TM/4/5, Royal Asiatic Society, London; most biographers give the year 1802 for the beginning of his plan, though Charles Lamb wrote to him in August 31, 1801, that “I heard that you were going to China”: Talfourd, *Letters of Charles Lamb*, vol. 1, p. 196.
30. On the deficiency of Hager’s system, see William Huttman, “Notice of Several Chinese-European Dictionaries which have Preceded Dr. Morrison’s,” in the *Asiatic Journal and Monthly Register*, vol. 12 (September 1821): 242, which lists two subsequent works explicitly written to debunk Hager’s.
31. A. J. Dunkin, “Only Passport to England Signed by Napoleon I,” in *Notes*

and Queries, 2nd series, vol. 10 (August 25, 1860): 143–44.

32. Manning to Joseph Banks (draft, 1806), Manning Papers, TM/4/5, Royal Asiatic Society, London.
33. Charles Lamb to William Hazlitt, November 18, 1805: “Manning is come to town in spectacles, and studies physic; is melancholy, and seems to have something in his head which he don’t impart.” Talfourd, *The Works of Charles Lamb. To which are prefixed, His Letters, and a Sketch of His Life* (New York: Harper and Bros., 1838), vol. 1, p. 133.
34. Talfourd, *The Letters of Charles Lamb*, vol. 1, p. 242. Lamb seems to have made up the word “smouchy”—the *Oxford English Dictionary* lists this letter to Manning as the only known instance of its use.
35. Clements R. Markham, ed., *Narratives of the Mission of George Bogle to Tibet, and of the Journey of Thomas Manning to Lhasa* (London: Trübner and Co., 1876), pp. clvi–clvii.
36. Peter Auber, *China. An Outline of Its Government, Laws, and Policy: and of the British and Foreign Embassies to, and Intercourse with That Empire* (London: Parbury, Allen and Co., 1834), pp. 220–21.
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38. Lamb to Manning, December 5, 1806, in Talfourd, *Letters of Charles Lamb*, vol. 1, pp. 285–89.
39. Baldwin, R. C. D. “Sir Joseph Banks and the Cultivation of Tea,” *RSA Journal* 141, no. 5444 (November 1993): 813–17.
40. Susan Reed Stifler, “The Language Students of the East India Company’s Canton Factory,” *Journal of the North China Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society* 69 (1938): 46–82, see p. 57.
41. Eliza Morrison, *Memoirs of the Life and Labours of Robert Morrison, D.D.* (London: Longman, Orme, Brown, Green, and Longmans, 1839), vol. 1, p. 93.
42. *Ibid.*, vol. 1, p. 98.
43. Quotations from *ibid.*, vol. 1, pp. 94, 117–18. Preaching to ship’s crew: Christopher A. Daily, *Robert Morrison and the Protestant Plan for China* (Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 2013), p. 99.
44. Eliza Morrison, *Life and Labours*, vol. 1, pp. 127–31.

45. Marshall Broomhall, *Robert Morrison: A Master Builder* (Edinburgh: Turnbull & Spears, 1927), p. 52.
46. Smith, *Life of Sir Joseph Banks*, p. 271.
47. Eliza Morrison, *Life and Labours*, vol. 1, pp. 153, 162.
48. Broomhall, *Master Builder*, p. 57 (emphasis added).
49. Eliza Morrison, *Life and Labours*, vol. 1, p. 222; Stifler, "The Language Students of the East India Company's Canton Factory," p. 60.
50. Eliza Morrison, *Life and Labours*, vol. 1, p. 153.
51. On lack of smuggling: Patrick K. O'Brien, "The Political Economy of British Taxation, 1660–1815," *Economic History Review*, new series, vol. 41, no. 1 (February 1988): 1–32, see p. 26.
52. Morse, *Chronicles*, vol. 2, p. 117.
53. H. V. Bowen, *The Business of Empire: The East India Company and Imperial Britain, 1756–1833* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), pp. 234, 245.
54. Wakeman, "Drury's Occupation," p. 30; see also O'Brien, "The Political Economy of British Taxation," p. 15 and table 4 on p. 9 (total customs was 30 percent of income in 1810). Michael Greenberg, *British Trade and the Opening of China, 1800–1842* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1951), p. 3, provides the widely repeated figure that Chinese tea provided one-tenth of the British government's total revenue.
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56. Select Committee's report to Secret Committee, March 3, 1809, excerpted in Morse, *Chronicles*, vol. 3, p. 96.
57. Wakeman, "Drury's Occupation," p. 29.
58. Morse, *Chronicles of the East India Company*, vol. 3, p. 86.
59. *Ibid.*, p. 87.
60. Stifler, "The Language Students of the East India Company's Canton Factory," p. 61; Eastberg, "West Meets East," p. 158, n. 398; Morse, *Chronicles*, vol. 3, p. 93.
61. Wakeman, "Drury's Occupation," p. 31.
62. Auber, *China*, pp. 233–34, quotation on p. 233. Referring to himself, Drury wrote that "the sword is half-out of the scabbard, and his duty forbids him

making war with China”: Wood, “England, China, and the Napoleonic Wars,” p. 149.

63. Wakeman, “Drury’s Occupation,” p. 32; *Da Qing Renzong Rui (Jiaqing) huangdi shilu* (Taipei: Taiwan Huawen shuju, 1964), *juan* 202, pp. 29b–30a.
64. Wood, “England, China, and the Napoleonic Wars,” p. 149; Drury to Roberts, November 8, 1808, excerpted in *ibid.*, p. 150.
65. Wood, “England, China, and the Napoleonic Wars,” pp. 150, 153.
66. Morse, *Chronicles*, vol. 3, p. 88.
67. Quoted in Wood, “England, China, and the Napoleonic Wars,” p. 156.
68. Wakeman, “Drury’s Occupation,” p. 33, citing M. C. B. Maybon, “Les Anglais à Macao, en 1802 et en 1808,” *Bulletin de l’École française d’Extrême-Orient*, *tôme* 6, 1906, pp. 301–25; “Sun Yu-t’ing,” in Arthur W. Hummel, ed., *Eminent Chinese of the Ch’ing Period* (Taipei: SMC Publishing, Inc., 1991), vol. 2, p. 684.

CHAPTER 4 Sea and Land

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2. Jiaqing edict of JQ4/zheng/16 (February 20, 1799), in *Shiliao xunkan* (Kowloon, Hong Kong: Fudi shuyuan chuban youxian gongsi, 2005), no. 6, pp. 398–401; Wook Yoon, “Prosperity with the Help of ‘Villains,’ 1776–1799: A Review of the Heshen Clique and Its Era,” *T’oung Pao* 98, issue 4/5 (2012): 479–527, see pp. 520–21.
3. Eight hundred million taels of silver: Wook Yoon, “Prosperity with the Help of ‘Villains,’ ” p. 514. Total U.S. GDP in 1800 was about \$350 million, as per Peter Mancall et al., “Conjectural Estimates of Economic Growth in the Lower South, 1720 to 1800,” in *History Matters: Essays on Economic Growth, Technology, and Demographic Change*, ed. Timothy Guinnane (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2004), p. 396.
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Press, 1959), pp. 209–43, see p. 241.

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6. Susan Mann Jones, “Hung Liang-chi (1746–1809): The Perception and Articulation of Political Problems in Late Eighteenth Century China” (Ph.D. dissertation, Stanford University, 1971), p. 162.
7. *Ibid.*, p. 158.
8. Elman, *Classicism Politics, and Kinship*, pp. 287–90; Jones, “Hung Liang-chi,” pp. 159–60; Nivison, “Ho-shen and His Accusers,” p. 242.
9. Elman, *Classicism Politics, and Kinship*, p. 289, citing Jones, “Hung Liang-chi,” p. 160, and Nivison, “Ho-shen and His Accusers,” p. 243.
10. Jiaqing edict of JQ4/1/4 (February 8, 1799), in Wang Xianqian, ed., *Shi chao donghua lu* (1899), vol. 33, Jiaqing *juan* 7, p. 19b; also excerpted in *Qing zhongqi wusheng bailianjiao qiyi ziliao*, vol. 3, pp. 103–4 (hereafter QZQWS).
11. Wang Wensheng, *White Lotus Rebels and South China Pirates: Crisis and Reform in the Qing Empire* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2014), p. 140.
12. “E-le-teng-pao,” in Arthur W. Hummel, ed., *Eminent Chinese of the Ch'ing Period* (Taipei: SMC Publishing, Inc., 1991), vol. 1, pp. 222–24; Pamela Crossley, *The Wobbling Pivot: China since 1800, an Interpretive History* (Malden, MA: Wiley-Blackwell, 2010), pp. 21–22.
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16. *Ibid.*, p. 171.
17. Dai Yingcong, “Broken Passage to the Summit: Nayancheng’s Botched Mission in the White Lotus War,” in *The Dynastic Centre and the Provinces: Agents and Interactions*, ed. Jeroen Duindam and Sabine Dabringhaus (Leiden: Brill, 2014), pp. 49–73, see pp. 69–70. On Eldemboo’s reputation for suffering hardship, see John Fairbank’s review

of Suzuki Chūsei's *Shinchō chūkishi kenkyū* in the *Far Eastern Quarterly* 14, no. 1 (November 1954): 104–6.

18. Cecily McCaffrey, “Living through Rebellion: A Local History of the White Lotus Uprising in Hubei, China” (Ph.D. dissertation, University of California, San Diego, 2003), p. 229; Philip Kuhn and Susan Mann, “Dynastic Decline and the Roots of Rebellion,” in *The Cambridge History of China*, vol. 10, *Late Ch’ing, 1800–1911, Part 1*, ed. John K. Fairbank and Denis Twitchett (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1978), p. 142.
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29. Quoted in David Faure, *Emperor and Ancestor: State and Lineage in South China* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2007), p. 173.
30. Faure, *Emperor and Ancestor*, pp. 277–78.

31. Robert J. Antony, "State, Continuity, and Pirate Suppression in Guangdong Province, 1809–1810," *Late Imperial China* 27, no. 1 (June 2006): 1–30, see pp. 7–10.
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35. Antony, "Piracy and the Shadow Economy," p. 109.
36. John Turner, *A Narrative of the Captivity and Sufferings of John Turner...among the Ladrones or Pirates, on the Coast of China...in the year 1807* (New York: G. & R. Waite, 1814), p. 12.
37. *Ibid.*, p. 33.
38. "Substance of Mr. Glasspoole's Relation, upon his return to England, respecting the Ladrones," in *Further Statement of the Ladrones on the Coast of China: Intended as a Continuation of the Accounts Published by Mr. Dalrymple*, ed. Anon. (London: Lane, Darling, and Co., 1812), pp. 40–45, see p. 40.
39. Rutter, *Narrative of Mr. Richard Glasspoole*, pp. 36–39.
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43. Dian Murray, "Piracy and China's Maritime Transition," in *Maritime China in Transition, 1750–1850*, ed. Wang Gung-wu and Ng Chin-keong (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 2004), pp. 43–60, see p. 58.
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50. Rutter, *Glasspoole and the Chinese Pirates*, p. 56.
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52. Ibid., vol. 2, p. 21b, trans. Neumann, *History of the Pirates*, p. 88.
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54. The figure of two hundred million taels for the White Lotus suppression is from McCaffrey, “Living through Rebellion,” p. 196, and Wang, “White Lotus Rebels,” p. 104. Roger Knight, in *Britain against Napoleon: The Organization of Victory, 1793–1815* (London: Allen Lane, 2013), p. 386, gives the figure of £830 million for the total financial cost of the Napoleonic Wars to Britain between 1793 and 1815; he also gives £578 million for the size of the debt that was run up to pay for the war. Paul Kennedy, in *The Rise and Fall of British Naval Mastery* (Malabar, FL: R. E. Krieger Pub. Co., 1982), p. 139, puts the cost of the war at double that: £1.657 billion; at the standard exchange of three taels to one pound sterling, £830 million was worth 2.49 billion taels.
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56. Dai Yingcong, “Civilians Go into Battle: Hired Militias in the White Lotus War,” *Asia Major*, 3rd series, vol. 22, part 2 (2009): 145–78, see pp. 176–77.
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CHAPTER 5 Points of Entry

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3. William Foster, *The East India House: Its History and Associations* (London: John Lane, 1924), pp. 139–40.
4. Staunton, *Memoirs of the Chief Incidents*, p. 44.
5. George Thomas Staunton, trans., *Ta Tsing Leu Lee; being the Fundamental Laws, and a Selection from the Supplementary Statutes, of the Penal Code of China* (London: T. Cadell and W. Davies, 1810), p. i.
6. John Barrow, *Some Account of the Public Life and a Selection from the Unpublished Writings, of the Earl of Macartney*, 2 vols. (London: T. Cadell and W. Davies, 1807).
7. See “Staunton’s Translation of the Penal Code of China,” *Critical Review*, Series the Third, vol. 21, no. 4 (December 1810): 337–53, pp. 338–39.
8. Staunton, *Ta Tsing Leu Lee*, p. xi.
9. George Staunton, review of J. Marshman, *A Dissertation on the Characters and Sounds of the Chinese Language*, in *Quarterly Review* (May 1811): 372–403, see p. 396; in the latter quote he is himself citing a contemporary geographer.
10. Staunton, *Ta Tsing Leu Lee*, p. 493.
11. “Ta Tsing Leu Lee; or, The Laws of China,” *Quarterly Review* 3, no. 6 (May 1810): 273–319.
12. “Penal Code of China,” *Edinburgh Review*, no. 32 (August 1810): 476–99, quote on pp. 481–82.
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14. “Penal Code of China,” *Edinburgh Review*.
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China, post–Opium War, is Pär Cassell’s *Grounds of Judgment: Extraterritoriality and Imperial Power in Nineteenth-Century China and Japan* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2012).

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17. William Johns, *A Sermon, Preached in the Meeting-House of the Baptist Society in Salem...for the Benefit of the Translations of the Scriptures into the Languages of India and China* (Boston: Lincoln & Edmands, 1812), p. 14.
18. William W. Moseley, *The Origin of the First Protestant Mission to China* (London: Simpkin and Marshall, 1842), pp. 9, 12.
19. Ibid., pp. 20, 24, 53–63, 108, 109, n. 1; see also A. C. Moule, “A Manuscript Chinese Version of the New Testament (British Museum, Sloane 3599),” *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland*, no. 1 (April 1949): 23–33.
20. Marshall Broomhall, *Robert Morrison: A Master Builder* (Edinburgh: Turnbull & Spears, 1927), p. 39.
21. William Brown to the directors of the London Missionary Society, April 12, 1806, quoted in Christopher A. Daily, *Robert Morrison and the Protestant Plan for China* (Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 2013), p. 96.
22. Broomhall, *Master Builder*, p. 59.
23. “Memoir of the Rev. Robert Morrison,” *Asiatic Journal and Monthly Register*, vol. 11, new series (January–April 1835): 198–220, see pp. 199–200. As to Morrison’s guilt, his diary from January 10, 1809, reads, “I spent the evening with Mr. Morton and family. By not applying to my studies my mind is uncomfortable.” Two days later: “I spent the evening with the family of the Mortons. Scarcely so devoted as I ought to be.” Eliza Morrison, *Life and Labours*, vol. 1, pp. 247–49 (which has error of “June” for “January”).
24. George Thomas Staunton, *Memoirs of the Chief Incidents*, p. 37. Staunton notes that he studied for different purposes, and “much less exclusively and assiduously” than Morrison, who “attained ultimately to a much greater degree of proficiency.”

25. Eliza Morrison, *Life and Labours*, vol. 1, pp. 163, 168.
26. Ibid., vol. 1, pp. 212, 245.
27. Hosea Ballou Morse, *The Chronicles of the East India Company Trading to China, 1635–1834* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1926), vol. 3, p. 103, says Manning's translations were nearly unintelligible; "very imperfectly": Clements R. Markham, ed., *Narratives of the Mission of George Bogle to Tibet, and of the Journey of Thomas Manning to Lhasa* (London: Trübner and Co., 1876), p. 260.
28. William Milne, *A Retrospect of the First Ten Years of the Protestant Mission to China* (Malacca: Anglo-Chinese Press, 1820), p. 79.
29. Morse, *Chronicles*, vol. 3, p. 134; Laurence Kitzen, "The London Missionary Society in India and China, 1798–1834" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Toronto, 1965), p. 84; Susan Reed Stifler, "The Language Students of the East India Company's Canton Factory," *Journal of the North China Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society* 69 (1938): 46–82, see p. 62.
30. Stifler, "Language Students," p. 62.
31. Eliza Morrison, *Life and Labours*, vol. 1, p. 288.
32. Ibid., vol. 1, pp. 286, 295 (quotation on p. 286).
33. Lo-shu Fu, *A Documentary Chronicle of Sino-Western Relations (1644–1820)* (Tucson: Published for the Association for Asian Studies by the University of Arizona Press, 1966), vol. 1, pp. 397–98.
34. Stifler, "Language Students," p. 64; Kitzen, "The London Missionary Society in India and China," pp. 87–88.
35. Eliza Morrison, *Life and Labours*, vol. 1, pp. 414–17; Kitzen, "The London Missionary Society in India and China," pp. 88–89.
36. Peter Auber, *China. An Outline of Its Government, Laws, and Policy: and of the British and Foreign Embassies to, and Intercourse with That Empire* (London: Parbury, Allen and Co., 1834), pp. 221–22; Thomas Manning to his father, William Manning, February 12, 1808, Manning Papers, TM/1/1/44, Royal Asiatic Society, London; "veiled mysteries": Manning to his father, August 18, 1808, Manning Papers, TM/1/1/46.
37. Soup: Markham, *Narratives*, p. 230.
38. Manning to his father from Canton, March 1, 1809, Manning Papers, TM/1/1/49.

39. Morse, *Chronicles*, vol. 3, p. 72.
40. "The Late Mr. Thomas Manning," obituary in *Asiatic Journal and Monthly Register*, vol. 33, new series (September–December 1840), part 2, pp. 182–83.
41. Manning to his father from Calcutta, April 28, 1810, Manning Papers, TM/1/1/51.
42. Zhao Jinxiu's deposition, as parsed in Matthew William Mosca, "Qing China's Perspectives on India, 1750–1847" (Ph.D. dissertation, Harvard University, 2008), p. 274.
43. Manning to Lamb, October 11, 1810, in *The Letters of Thomas Manning to Charles Lamb*, ed. Gertrude Anderson (London: Martin Secker, 1925), p. 114.
44. According to a letter Manning sent just before his departure, much of that intervening year was wasted in waiting for passports to travel through Bhutan, which made him so miserable he couldn't even write to his friends. ("I gasp and breathe hard when I think how I waste my time here," he wrote.) Manning to George Tuthill from Rangpur, August 27, 1811, Manning Papers, TM/2/3/7.
45. Markham, *Narratives*, p. 215. The original manuscript of Manning's narrative of his journey to Lhasa is in the Thomas Manning Papers at the Royal Asiatic Society in London. As Markham's publication of that manuscript differs little from the original (entailing mainly minor changes in wording and the elimination of some of Manning's constant judgments on the wine he drank), I will generally cite the published version below.
46. *Ibid.*, p. 217.
47. *Ibid.*, pp. 217, 242.
48. Manning manuscript narrative, part 1, p. 9, Manning Papers, TM/10.
49. Markham, *Narratives*, p. 230; Manning manuscript narrative, part 2, p. 7.
50. Markham, *Narratives*, p. 260.
51. *Ibid.*, pp. 255, 256.
52. *Ibid.*, p. 259.
53. *Ibid.*, pp. 264–65. Description of audience hall based also on Sarat Chandra Das, *Journey to Lhasa and Tibet* (London: John Murray, 1902), pp. 166–67.
54. Markham, *Narratives*, pp. 265, 266–67.

55. Ibid., pp. 275–76.
56. Ibid., pp. 238, 258, 275–76.
57. *Da Qing Renzong Rui (Jiaqing) huangdi shilu* (Taipei: Taiwan Huawen shuju, 1964), *juan* 251, p. 14b.
58. Markham, *Narratives*, p. 278.
59. *Da Qing Renzong Rui (Jiaqing) huangdi shilu* (Taipei: Taiwan Huawen shuju, 1964), *juan* 251, pp. 14b–15a.
60. Markham, *Narratives*, p. 293. He was not executed, but was exiled to Yili in the far northwest. See Mosca, “Qing China’s Perspectives on India,” p. 274.
61. See Manning’s deposition from May 17, 1821, in “Third Report from the Select Committee appointed to consider the means of improving and maintaining the Foreign Trade of the Country. East Indies and China,” House of Commons, July 10, 1821, pp. 355–57.
62. Murray A. Rubinstein, *The Origins of the Anglo-American Missionary Enterprise in China, 1807–1840* (Lanham, MD: Scarecrow Press, 1996), p. 95.
63. Ibid., p. 114.
64. Elphinstone to the Court of Directors, November 11, 1812, quoted in Su Ching, “The Printing Presses of the London Missionary Society among the Chinese” (Ph.D. dissertation, University of London, 1996), p. 48.
65. Su, “Printing Presses,” p. 48.
66. Robert Morrison, *A Dictionary of the Chinese Language, in Three Parts* (Macao: The Honourable East India Company’s Press, 1815), vol. 1, part 1, dedication page.
67. Ibid., vol. 1, part 1, pp. 746–85.
68. Prospectus for Morrison’s dictionary in the *Literary Panorama and National Register*, September 1818, cc. 1137–38.
69. “Morrison’s Dictionary of the Chinese Language,” *Asiatic Journal and Monthly Register* 2, no. 9 (September 1816): 258–65, quotation on p. 265.
70. “Missionary Chinese Works,” *Quarterly Review* (July 1816): 350–75, quotation on p. 371.

CHAPTER 6 Hidden Shoals

1. Staunton's £20,000 salary: C. H. Philips, *The East India Company, 1784–1834* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1940), p. 14, n. 6; "rather high play": George Thomas Staunton, *Memoirs of the Chief Incidents of the Public Life of Sir George Thomas Staunton, Bart.*, printed for private circulation (London: L. Booth, 1856), p. 40.
2. Lord Castlereagh instructions to Lord Amherst ("General Instructions on Undertaking the Embassy to China"), January 1, 1816, UK National Archives, Public Record Office, Foreign Office records (hereafter PRO FO), 17/5/18.
3. Hosea Ballou Morse, *The Chronicles of the East India Company Trading to China, 1635–1834* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1926), vol. 3, pp. 214–19.
4. Amherst's instructions: *Ibid.*, vol. 3, p. 281.
5. Douglas M. Peers, "Amherst, William Pitt, First Earl Amherst of Arracan (1773–1857)," *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004–13).
6. Thomas Handasyd Perkins (in Boston) to Perkins & Co., Canton, July 15, 1814, in Thomas Greaves Cary, *Memoir of Thomas Handasyd Perkins; containing Extracts from his Diaries and Letters* (Boston: Little, Brown, 1856), p. 298.
7. George Thomas Staunton, *Miscellaneous Notices Relating to China, and Our Commercial Intercourse with That Country* (London: John Murray, 1822), p. 240.
8. *Da Qing Renzong Rui (Jiaqing) huangdi shilu* (Taipei: Taiwan Huawen shuju, 1964), *juan* 299, pp. 30b–31a.
9. Morse, *Chronicles*, vol. 3, pp. 259–60.
10. Staunton to his mother, July 12, 1816, George Thomas Staunton Papers, Rubenstein Library, Duke University, Durham, NC, accessed via Adam Matthew Digital, "China: Trade, Politics and Culture 1793–1980."
11. George Thomas Staunton, *Notes of Proceedings and Occurrences, during the British Embassy to Peking, in 1816* (London: Habant Press, for private circulation, 1824), pp. 5–8.
12. Staunton to his mother, July 12, 1816, Staunton Papers, Duke University.
13. Thomas Noon Talfourd, ed., *The Works of Charles Lamb* (New York:

Harper and Bros., 1838), vol. 1, p. 173.

14. Matthew Mosca, "Qing China's Perspectives on India, 1750–1847" (Ph.D. dissertation, Harvard University, 2008), p. 313.
15. Staunton, *Notes of Proceedings and Occurrences*, p. 9; "natural indolence": John Davis, quoted in Clements R. Markham, ed., *Narratives of the Mission of George Bogle to Tibet, and of the Journey of Thomas Manning to Lhasa* (London: Trübner and Co., 1876), p. clix.
16. "Embassy to China," *British Review and London Critical Journal* 11, no. 21 (February 1818): 140–73, quotation on p. 141.
17. Henry Ellis, *Journal of the Proceedings of the Late Embassy to China* (London: John Murray, 1817), p. 39.
18. *Ibid.*, pp. 440, 491.
19. Robert A. Morrison, *A Memoir of the Principal Occurrences during an Embassy from the British Government to the Court of China in the Year 1816* (London, 1819), p. 16.
20. "Abel's Journey in China," *Quarterly Review* 21, no. 41 (January 1819): 67–91, quotation on p. 74.
21. Lord Amherst dispatch of April 21, 1817, PRO FO 17/3/128.
22. John M'Leod, *Narrative of a Voyage in His Majesty's Late Ship Alceste to the Yellow Sea* (London: John Murray, 1817), pp. 27–47 (quotation modified from "I don't know who ye are; what business have ye here?").
23. Ellis, *Journal of the Proceedings of the Late Embassy*, pp. 72, 91–92 *etc.*
24. Quotation from Amherst's instructions, PRO FO 17/3/21.
25. Jiaqing's instructions, dated July 16, 1816, are in *Wenxian congbian quanbian* (Beijing: Beijing tushu chubanshe, 2008), vol. 11, p. 352 (Jiaqing 21 nian Ying shi lai pin an, p. 20b).
26. Amherst to George Canning, February 12, 1817, PRO 17/3/59; Jiaqing's witnessing of Macartney's kowtow is also mentioned in Staunton, *Notes of Proceedings*, p. 96.
27. Ellis, *Journal of the Proceedings of the Late Embassy*, pp. 154, 157–58; Morrison, *Memoir of the Principal Occurrences*, p. 35. Beale's aviary: Peter Fay, *The Opium War, 1840–1842: Barbarians in the Celestial Empire in the Early Part of the Nineteenth Century and the War by Which They Forced Her Gates Ajar* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1975), p. 26.

28. Amherst to Canning, February 12, 1817, PRO FO 17/3/59.
29. Staunton diary 1793–94, entry for September 14, 1793, Staunton Papers, Duke University.
30. Staunton diary 1793–94, entry for September 17, 1793; on Qianlong's birthday being the occasion on which Jiaqing saw Macartney kowtow, see Ellis, *Journal of the Proceedings of the Late Embassy*, p. 110.
31. George Macartney, *An Embassy to China: Being the Journal Kept by Lord Macartney during His Embassy to the Emperor Ch'ien-lung, 1793–1794*, ed. J. L. Cranmer-Byng (Hamden, CT: Archon Books, 1963), p. 131.
32. As Amherst explained in his report to George Canning in February 1817, well after the fact, "I have since been given to understand that on an occasion subsequently to his first audience, Lord Macartney multiplied his bow nine times in conformity to the usual number of prostrations made by the Chinese." Amherst to Canning, February 12, 1817, PRO FO 17/3/59.
33. Lord Amherst to George Canning from Batavia, February 20, 1817, PRO FO 17/3/83.
34. Lord Amherst dispatch of April 21, 1817, PRO FO 17/3/128; Amherst to George Canning, August 8, 1816, PRO FO 17/3/50; Amherst to Canning, February 12, 1817, PRO FO 17/3/62–65; Ellis, *Journal of the Proceedings of the Late Embassy*, pp. 93–97.
35. Morrison, *Memoir of the Principal Occurrences*, pp. 32, 33.
36. Amherst to Canning, February 20, 1817, PRO FO 17/3/86.
37. Staunton, *Notes of Proceedings*, p. 99; Ellis, *Journal of the Proceedings of the Late Embassy*, p. 153.
38. Staunton, *Notes of Proceedings*, pp. 102–3.
39. *Ibid.*, p. 103.
40. English draft of Amherst's letter, PRO FO 17/3/88–89; Amherst to Canning, February 20, 1817, PRO FO 17/3/86; Staunton, *Notes of Proceedings*, p. 103.
41. Amherst to Canning, August 8, 1816, PRO FO 17/3/51.
42. John F. Davis, "Sketches of China," supplement to *The Chinese: A General Description of China and Its Inhabitants* (London: Charles Knight & Co., 1846), p. 86; Amherst to Canning from Batavia, March 8, 1817, PRO FO 17/3/90.
43. Staunton, *Notes of Proceedings*, p. 112.

44. Clarke Abel, *Narrative of a Journey in the Interior of China, and of a Voyage to and from That Country in the Years 1816 and 1817* (London: Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme, and Brown, 1818), p. 104.
45. Ellis, *Journal of the Proceedings of the Late Embassy*, p. 178.
46. Abel, *Narrative of a Journey in the Interior of China*, p. 106.
47. Amherst to Canning, Batavia, March 8, 1817, PRO FO 17/3/92.
48. Abel, *Narrative*, p. 107; Ellis, *Journal of the Proceedings of the Late Embassy*, pp. 179–80.
49. Morse, *Chronicles*, vol. 3, p. 306; M'Leod, *Narrative of a Voyage in His Majesty's Late Ship Alceste*, pp. 136–37. Staunton claimed that nobody was killed by the *Alceste*: see Staunton, "Extract of a Letter upon the Propositions entertained relative to the China Trade, in 1819," in *Miscellaneous Notices*, p. 313.
50. M'Leod, *Narrative of a Voyage in His Majesty's Late Ship Alceste*, pp. 137, 144, 140.
51. Abel, *Narrative*, p. 111.
52. Jiaqing edict of JQ21/7/8 (August 30, 1816), in *Da Qing Renzong Rui (Jiaqing) huangdi shilu*, juan 320, pp. 6b–9a.
53. Jiaqing edict of JQ21/7/3 (August 25, 1816), in *Wenxian congbian quanbian*, vol. 11, p. 357 (Qing Jiaqing 21 nian Ying shi lai pin an, p. 30a).
54. M'Leod, *Narrative of a Voyage in His Majesty's Late Ship Alceste*, p. 140.
55. Jiaqing edict of JQ21/7/8 (August 30, 1816), in *Da Qing Renzong Rui (Jiaqing) huangdi shilu*, juan 320, pp. 4b–6b (quotation on 6b); translation adapted from that of George Staunton, published in *The Gentleman's Magazine*, vol. 89 (September 1819), as "Letter from the Emperor of China," pp. 264–65.
56. "The Late Embassy to China," *Times*, August 11, 1818.
57. "Chinese Embassy and Trade," *Edinburgh Review* 29, no. 58 (February 1818): 433–53; Staunton, *Memoirs of the Chief Incidents*, p. 72.
58. "Embassy to China," *Quarterly Review* 17, no. 34 (July 1817): 464–506, quotations on pp. 464, 465.
59. "Chinese Drama—Lord Amherst's Embassy," *Quarterly Review* 16, no. 32 (January 1817): 396–416, quotation on p. 412.
60. *Monthly Review*, vol. 83 (June 1817): 222–23.

61. Barry E. O'Meara, *Napoleon in Exile; Or, A Voice from St. Helena. The Opinions and Reflections of Napoleon on the Most Important Events of His Life and Government, in His Own Words* (London: W. Simpkin and R. Marshall, 1822), vol. 1, p. 471.
62. Ibid., vol. 1, p. 472. Clarke Abel, Amherst's physician, who met Napoleon shortly after this exchange, described how Napoleon's eyes would seem to shift color during conversation. When serious and earnest he had what seemed, in Abel's words, "a very dark eye." Abel, *Narrative*, p. 316.

CHAPTER 7 Boom Times

1. John Murray Forbes, *Reminiscences of John Murray Forbes*, ed. Sarah Forbes Hughes (Boston: George H. Ellis, 1902), vol. 1, p. 139. Forbes says “fifteen or twenty ships,” but H. B. Morse gives a more precise size for the fleet as sixteen. Hosea Ballou Morse, *The Chronicles of the East India Company Trading to China, 1635–1834* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1926), vol. 4, p. 231.
2. Peter C. Holloran, “Perkins, Thomas Handasyd,” *American National Biography Online* (Oxford University Press, 2000).
3. Forbes, *Reminiscences of John Murray Forbes*, vol. 1, p. 90.
4. Thomas T. Forbes to John M. Forbes, Canton, June 30, 1828, in Forbes, *Reminiscences*, vol. 1, pp. 92–95.
5. His seat was Mitchell, Cornwall, which was abolished by the Reform Act of 1832.
6. George Thomas Staunton, *Memoirs of the Chief Incidents of the Public Life of Sir George Thomas Staunton, Bart.*, printed for private circulation (London: L. Booth, 1856), pp. 74–77.
7. Thomas Noon Talfourd, ed., *The Works of Charles Lamb* (New York: Harper and Bros., 1838), vol. 1, p. 262.
8. Lindsay Ride, *An East India Company Cemetery: Protestant Burials in Macao* (Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 1996), p. 253. Description of aviary and parrot: Harriet Low Hillard, *Lights and Shadows of a Macao Life: The Journal of Harriett [sic] Low, Traveling Spinster*, ed. Nan P. Hodges and Arthur W. Hummel (Woodinville, WA: The History Bank, 2002), vol. 1, p. 120.
9. Marshall Broomhall, *Robert Morrison: A Master Builder* (Edinburgh: Turnbull & Spears, 1927), pp. 127–30.
10. *Canton Register*, November 15, 1830.
11. Hosea Ballou Morse, *The Chronicles of the East India Company Trading to China, 1635–1834* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1926), vol. 4, pp. 254–55; specifically, there were twenty members of the Company’s factory, thirty-two private British traders, twenty-one Americans, and forty-one Parsis.

12. William W. Wood, *Sketches of China* (Philadelphia: Carey & Lea, 1830), p. 64.
13. "The Opium Trade," *Canton Register*, April 12, 1828. Money-changing shops: Jonathan Spence, "Opium Smoking in Ch'ing China," in *Conflict and Control in Late Imperial China*, ed. Frederic Wakeman Jr. and Carolyn Grant (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1975), p. 162.
14. Paul A. Van Dyke, "Smuggling Networks of the Pearl River Delta before 1842: Implications for Macao and the American China Trade," in *Americans and Macao: Trade, Smuggling, and Diplomacy on the South China Coast*, ed. Paul A. Van Dyke (Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 2012), pp. 49–72, see p. 63.
15. Robert Forbes made \$30,000 in 1831 alone. See Jacques Downs, "American Merchants and the Opium Trade, 1800–1840," *Business History Review* 42, no. 4 (Winter 1968): 418–42, see 436, n. 65. Comparison in value as per calculator on Measuringworth.com.
16. Daniel Defoe, *The Farther Adventures of Robinson Crusoe; Being the Second and Last Part of His Life* (London: W. Taylor, 1719), pp. 249, 274.
17. Morse, *Chronicles*, vol. 1, p. 215.
18. *Ibid.*, vol. 2, p. 239.
19. Clements R. Markham, ed., *Narratives of the Mission of George Bogle to Tibet, and of the Journey of Thomas Manning to Lhasa* (London: Trübner and Co., 1876), p. 238.
20. Robert A. Morrison, *A Memoir of the Principal Occurrences during an Embassy from the British Government to the Court of China in the Year 1816* (London: 1819), p. 197; Clarke Abel, *Narrative of a Journey in the Interior of China, and of a Voyage to and from That Country in the Years 1816 and 1817* (London: Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme, and Brown, 1818), pp. 213–14.
21. John F. Davis testimony to the Committee of the House of Commons on the East India Company's Affairs, 1830, in *Parliamentary Papers Relating to the Opium Trade...1821 to 1832* (Collected for the use of the Committee of the House of Commons on China Trade, 1840), p. 30.
22. Amar Farooqui, *Opium City: The Making of Early Victorian Bombay* (Gurgaon, India: Three Essays Collective, 2006), p. 39.
23. David Edward Owen, *British Opium Policy in China and India* (New

Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1934), p. 87.

24. Ibid., pp. 69–72, 80–101; Carl Trocki, *Opium, Empire and the Global Political Economy: A Study of the Asian Opium Trade, 1750–1950* (New York: Routledge, 1999), p. 94.
25. Michael Greenberg, *British Trade and the Opening of China, 1800–1842* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1951), pp. 81, 88–90, 105, 106; Richard J. Grace, *Opium and Empire: The Lives and Careers of William Jardine and James Matheson* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2014), p. 92, citing Paul A. Van Dyke, *The Canton Trade: Life and Enterprise on the China Coast, 1700–1845* (Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 2005), pp. 126–41. My data is taken from Charles Marjoribanks's "Statement of British trade at the port of Canton, for the Year ending 30th June 1828," submitted as part of his 1830 testimony to the House of Commons select committee on the affairs of the East India Company. See *First Report from the Select Committee on the Affairs of the East India Company (China Trade)*, House of Commons, July 8, 1830, pp. 56–57. Specifically, the value of all British imports in the year ending June 1828 was \$20,364,600. Of that, Patna and Malwa opium together were worth \$11,243,496. The Company's tea exports that year were 5,756,872 taels, or \$7,656,640.
26. Trocki, *Opium, Empire and the Global Political Economy*, p. 95.
27. Each chest of raw opium contained about 100 catties by weight (133 pounds), which would render half that amount in smokable extract, so 50 catties. A catty was equivalent to 16 taels by weight, so each chest contained roughly 800 taels of smokable opium extract. Anecdotal accounts from this era generally put the amount of opium smoked by regular users in a range from 0.1 taels/day for light smokers up to one full tael per day for the most inveterate addicts. For more precise figures, in 1869 the Scottish physician John Dudgeon, director of the London Missionary Society's hospital in Beijing, reported his conclusions after observing several hundred opium smokers over the course of five years. According to his study, the breakdown of their daily usage was as follows: 20 percent of smokers in the study used 0.05 taels per day, 20 percent used 0.1 taels, 20 percent used 0.2 taels, 30 percent used 0.3–0.4 taels, and 10 percent used a full tael or more. By his numbers, the average smoker thus used 0.28 taels per day. A chest of opium with its 800 taels of smokable

extract would have been sufficient to supply the annual needs of eight regular users, and the nearly 19,000 chests imported by 1830–31 would have been enough to supply a little over 150,000 habitual daily users throughout China. See J. Dudgeon, M.D., “On the Extent and Some of the Evils of Opium Smoking,” *The Chinese Recorder and Missionary Journal*, February 1869, pp. 203–4. Zheng Yangwen cites these statistics as a “benchmark” in *The Social Life of Opium in China* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), p. 158. A similar figure for average daily usage (0.3 taels) was also found in a study by Robert Hart of China’s Imperial Customs Service in 1879; see Frank Dikötter, Lars Laamann, and Zhou Xun, *Narcotic Culture: A History of Drugs in China* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2004), p. 53.

28. Scholars constantly refer to the opium trade with China as being “the” largest commodity trade of its time, an exaggeration that traces back to a statement on p. 104 of Michael Greenberg’s often-cited *British Trade and the Opening of China* that opium was “probably the largest commerce of the time in any single commodity.” Greenberg misread his own source, though, which was a treatise from 1836 that only implied opium was *one* of the largest. See John Phipps, *A Practical Treatise on the China and Eastern Trade* (London: Wm. H. Allen and Co., 1836), p. viii.
29. Richard Grace, “Jardine, William (1784–1843),” *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004–13); Maggie Keswick, ed., *The Thistle and the Jade: A Celebration of 175 Years of Jardine Matheson* (London: Frances Lincoln, 2008), p. 14.
30. Grace, *Opium and Empire*, pp. 94, 99–100, 106 and *passim*.
31. In 2016, Jardine Matheson had 440,000 employees and revenues of \$37 billion: <http://beta.fortune.com/global500/jardine-matheson-273> (accessed February 21, 2017).
32. Richard Grace, “Matheson, Sir (Nicholas) James Sutherland, first baronet (1796–1878),” *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*; Grace, *Opium and Empire*, p. 104.
33. E. J. Rapson, “Jeejeebhoy, Sir Jamsetjee, first baronet (1783–1859),” *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*. Orphaned: Cooverjee Sorabjee Nazir, *The First Parsee Baronet, Being Passages from the Life and Fortunes of the Late Sir Jamsetjee Jeejeebhoy Baronet* (Bombay: The Union Press, 1866), pp. 5–7. Jeejeebhoy’s account of the capture of the

Brunswick is in the *Bombay Courier*, April 19, 1806.

34. Nazir, *The First Parsee Baronet*, pp. 27–28.
35. On Jeejeebhoy's charity starting in 1822, see *ibid.*, pp. 30–72.
36. William Wood, *Sketches of China*, p. 68.
37. John Murray Forbes journal, Forbes Family Business Records, vol. F-2, Baker Library, Harvard Business School.
38. He Sibing, "Russell and Company, 1818–1891: America's Trade and Diplomacy in Nineteenth-Century China" (Ph.D. dissertation, Miami University, Ohio, 1997), p. 60.
39. The figure of 5 percent is from Hao Yen-p'ing, "Chinese Teas to America," in *America's China Trade in Historical Perspective*, ed. Ernest R. May and John K. Fairbank (Cambridge, MA: Harvard Studies in American–East Asian Relations, 1986), pp. 11–31, see p. 28.
40. There are many accounts of the diverse range of goods scoured from across the oceans by American merchants to sell in Canton, but James Fichter's chapter on "America's China and Pacific Trade," in *So Great a Proffitt: How the East Indies Trade Transformed Anglo-American Capitalism* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2010), pp. 205–31, is especially good.
41. Hao, "Chinese Teas to America," pp. 22–23, 25.
42. Meriwether Lewis journal entry of January 9, 1806, in Reuben Gold Thwaites, ed., *Original Journals of the Lewis and Clark Expedition, 1804–1806* (New York: Dodd, Mead & Company), vol. 3, p. 327, cited in Fichter, *So Great a Profitt*, p. 213.
43. J. R. Child, logbook of the *Hunter*, pp. 47, 129–30, Massachusetts Historical Society, Boston.
44. This account of a typical American ship based in part on Roger Houghton's summary in his capacious exploration of the *Canton Register* in the 1830s (and beyond), which he has made available online at <http://www.houghton.hk>; see in particular Houghton's entry for the *Canton Register* of August 2, 1830. He Sibing, "Russell and Company," pp. 90–92.
45. Hao Yen-p'ing, *The Commercial Revolution in Nineteenth-Century China: the Rise of Sino-Western Mercantile Capitalism* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1986), p. 215.
46. "The Opium Trade," *Canton Register*, April 12, 1828.

47. "Foreign Vessels Visiting China," *The Canton Register*, Apr. 19, 1828.
48. As William Wood observed in 1830, "captures of opium boats are unfrequent, and seldom accomplished without a severe contest": Wood, *Sketches of China*, p. 208.
49. *Ibid.*, p. 209.
50. Jardine to R. Rolfe, April 6, 1830, quoted in Grace, *Opium and Empire*, p. 108.
51. Dr. Duncan, *Wholesome Advice Against the Abuse of Hot Liquors, Particularly of Coffee, Chocolate, Tea, Brandy, and Strong-Waters* (London, H. Rhodes and A. Bell, 1706), p. 15.
52. Anon., *An Essay on the Nature, Use, and Abuse, of Tea, in a Letter to a Lady; with an Account of its Mechanical Operation* (London: J. Bettenham, 1722), pp. 30 and 39.
53. *Ibid.*, p. 44.
54. Anon., *An Essay on Modern Luxuries* (Salisbury, UK: J. Hodson, 1777), pp. 7, 13, 14, 26–27.
55. Mike Jay, *Emperors of Dreams: Drugs in the Nineteenth Century* (Sawtry, UK: Dedalus, 2000), p. 73.
56. Robert Bennet Forbes, *Personal Reminiscences* (Boston: Little, Brown, 1882), p. 17.
57. Thomas De Quincey, *Confessions of an English Opium-Eater*, 3rd ed. (London: Taylor and Hessey, 1823), p. 91.
58. On Lamb's aid in getting De Quincey published, see the introduction to the 1888 edition of *Confessions* (London: George Routledge and Sons, 1888), p. 7. It was, incidentally, rumored at the time that the true author of the work might be Charles Lamb himself, or even Samuel Taylor Coleridge: see the review of *Confessions* in the *Monthly Review* for March 1823, p. 296.
59. De Quincey, *Confessions* (1823), pp. 4–5.
60. *Ibid.*, pp. 171, 172–73.
61. *Ibid.*, p. 169.
62. M. H. Abrams, *The Milk of Paradise* (New York: Octagon Books, 1971), p. x. The original manuscript is in the British Library, Add. MS 50847.
63. Thomas Talfourd, ed., *The Works of Charles Lamb, with A Sketch of His*

Life and Final Memorials (New York: Harper and Bros., 1875), vol. 1, p. 437.

64. Grevel Lindop, "Quincey, Thomas Penson De (1785–1859)," *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*.
65. Eliza Morrison, *Memoirs of the Life and Labours of Robert Morrison, D.D.* (London: Longman, Orme, Brown, Green, and Longmans, 1839), vol. 2, p. 203.
66. Wood, *Sketches of China*, pp. 206–7.
67. Michael C. Lazich, "E. C. Bridgman and the Coming of the Millennium: America's First Missionary to China" (Ph.D. dissertation, SUNY Buffalo, 1997), p. 259.
68. John P. Cushing memo to Thomas T. Forbes respecting Canton Affairs, March, 1828, Forbes Family Papers, Massachusetts Historical Society.
69. John Murray Forbes's impressions: *Reminiscences of John Murray Forbes*, vol. 1, p. 140; "a man of remarkable ability": Robert Forbes, *Personal Reminiscences*, pp. 370–71; There are many examples of Houqua's avoidance of opium, but see, for example, Michael D. Block, "New England Merchants, the China Trade, and the Origins of California" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Southern California, 2011), pp. 386–87; "only one bad man": John D. Wong, "Global Positioning: Houqua and his China Trade Partners in the Nineteenth Century" (Ph.D. dissertation, Harvard University, 2012), p. 133.
70. Sydney Greenbie, "Houqua of Canton—A Chinese Croesus," *Asia*, vol. 25 (October 1925): 823–27 and 891–95, quotation on p. 823.
71. The figure for Houqua's fortune comes from William C. Hunter, *The 'Fan Kwae' at Canton before Treaty Days, 1825–1844* (London: Kegan Paul, Trench & Co., 1882), p. 48. Astor's New York real estate holdings would be worth around \$20 million upon his death in 1848, which as a share of the U.S. GDP was equivalent to a fortune of about \$116 billion today (and it should be noted that Astor's accumulation of real estate was funded in part by his early domination of the fur trade to Canton, another reminder of how much wealth could be derived from China in this era). Anna Youngman, "The Fortune of John Jacob Astor: II," *Journal of Political Economy* 16, no. 7 (July 1908): 436–41, see p. 441. "The Wealthiest Americans Ever," *New York Times*, July 15, 2007.
72. Elma Loines, "Houqua, Sometime Chief of the Co-Hong at Canton (1769–

- 1843),” *Essex Institute Historical Collections* 89, no. 2 (April 1953): 99–108, description on pp. 99–100.
73. State Street Trust Company, *Old Shipping Days in Boston* (Boston: Walton Advertising & Printing Co., 1918), p. 24.
 74. As Houqua wrote to young Forbes in one letter, “I find that you enter into and assist my view much more readily than any other foreigner”: Houqua to John Murray Forbes, January 25, 1834, Forbes Family Business Records, vol. F-5, p. 56, Baker Library, Harvard Business School.
 75. John Murray Forbes, *Reminiscences of John Murray Forbes*, vol. 1, pp. 141–42.
 76. Robert B. Forbes to Thomas Handasyd Perkins, October 25, 1831, Forbes Family Papers, Massachusetts Historical Society.
 77. Henry Greenleaf Pearson, *An American Railroad Builder: John Murray Forbes* (Boston: Houghton, Mifflin and Company, 1911), p. 6; Forbes, *Reminiscences of John Murray Forbes*, vol. 1, p. 142.

CHAPTER 8 Fire and Smoke

1. This account based on Susan Naquin, *Millenarian Rebellion in China: The Eight Trigrams Uprising of 1813* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1976), pp. 166–84; also Arthur W. Hummel, ed., *Eminent Chinese of the Ch’ing Period* (Taipei: SMC Publishing, Inc., 1991), vol. 2, p. 574.
2. Leo Tolstoy, *War and Peace*, trans. Leo Weiner, vol. 6 of *The Complete Works of Count Tolstoy* (London: J. M. Dent & Co., 1904), vol. 2, p. 537; Walter Barlow Stevens, *Missouri: The Center State, 1821–1915* (Chicago–St. Louis: S. J. Clarke Publishing Co., 1915), vol. 2, p. 545; Elizabeth Rusch, “The Great Midwest Earthquake of 1811,” *Smithsonian*, December 2011; Naquin, *Millenarian Rebellion*, pp. 89, 314.
3. *Da Qing Renzong Rui (Jiaqing) huangdi shilu* (Taipei: Taiwan Huawen shuju, 1964), *juan* 274, pp 8a–9b; translation based on Robert Morrison, *Translations from the Original Chinese, with Notes* (Canton: P. P. Thoms, The Honorable East India Company’s Press, 1815), pp. 4–8.
4. January 29, 1814 (changing “Peking” to “Beijing”), as transcribed by Roger Houghton at <http://www.houghton.hk/?p=84>. It is unclear exactly

which Indian newspaper was his source.

5. Zheng Yangwen's translation in *The Social Life of Opium in China* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), p. 57 (changing "yan" to "smoke").
6. Based on Zheng Yangwen's translation in *ibid.*, p. 57; see the same for her argument that this cannot represent a tobacco pipe.
7. Hu Jinye, *Zhongguo jinyan jindu shi gang* (Taipei: Tangshan chubanshe, 2005), p. 6.
8. Paul Howard, "Opium Suppression in Qing China: Responses to a Social Problem, 1729–1906" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Pennsylvania, 1998), p. 40.
9. Hu Jinye, *Zhongguo jinyan jindu shi gang*, pp. 6–13; Howard, "Opium Suppression," pp. 77–80; Zhu Weizheng, *Rereading Modern Chinese History*, trans. Michael Dillon (Boston: Brill, 2015), p. 178; David Bello, *Opium and the Limits of Empire: Drug Prohibition in the Chinese Interior, 1729–1850* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Asia Center, 2005), p. 118.
10. Zheng, *Social Life of Opium*, p. 58.
11. *Da Qing Renzong Rui (Jiaqing) huangdi shilu*, *juan* 227, pp. 4a–b.
12. *Ibid.*, *juan* 270, p. 12a.
13. Edict dated DG2/12/8 (January 19, 1823), in Yu Ende, *Zhongguo jinyan faling bianqian shi* (Shanghai: Zhonghua shuju, 1934), p. 40. N.b.: Yu Ende has the Western-conversion year wrong for this document.
14. Zheng, *Social Life of Opium*, p. 66.
15. See note 27 in chapter 7 for general calculations on opium usage. Assuming 0.28 taels/day for an average daily user of the drug, and 800 taels of smokable opium extract in a typical chest of opium, five thousand chests per year would be enough to support about forty thousand regular opium smokers. A light smoker would use only about 0.1 taels per day, though that was considered a small enough dose that it did not damage the health of the user in any noticeable way; serious addicts used much more. See W. H. Medhurst, "Remarks on the Opium Trade," *North-China Herald*, November 3, 1855.
16. Jonathan Spence, "Opium Smoking in Ch'ing China," in *Conflict and Control in Late Imperial China*, ed. Frederic Wakeman Jr. and Carolyn

Grant (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1975), p. 145.

17. Medhurst, "Remarks on the Opium Trade."
18. Lin Man-houng, "Late Qing Perceptions of Native Opium," *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 64, no. 1 (June 2004): 117–44, see pp. 119–20.
19. Paul A. Van Dyke, *The Canton Trade: Life and Enterprise on the China Coast, 1700–1845* (Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 2005), pp. 122–23.
20. Melissa Macauley, "Small Time Crooks: Opium, Migrants, and the War on Drugs in China, 1819–1860," *Late Imperial China* 30, no. 1 (June 2009): 1–47, see p. 40.
21. Lin, "Late Qing Perceptions of Native Opium," p. 118–19, 128.
22. Zheng, *Social Life of Opium*, pp. 71–86.
23. Bello, *Opium and the Limits of Empire*, pp. 1–2.
24. Zheng, *Social Life of Opium*, pp. 65, 71–86.
25. Hollingworth Magniac testimony to the Committee of the House of Lords relative to the Affairs of the East India Company, 1830, in *Parliamentary Papers Relating to the Opium Trade...1821 to 1832* (Collected for the use of the Committee of the House of Commons on China Trade, 1840), p. 25.
26. *Da Qing Xuanzong Cheng (Daoguang) huangdi shilu* (Taipei: Taiwan Huawen shuju, 1964), juan 163, p. 18b.
27. Memorial from Lu Yinpu et al., in Qi Sihe et al., eds., *Yapian zhanzheng* (Shanghai: Xin zhishi chubanshe, 1955), vol. 1, pp. 413–15, quotation on p. 414.
28. These 1831 memorials are reprinted in Qi, *Yapian zhanzheng* (hereafter YPZZ), vol. 1, pp. 411–48.
29. Spence, "Opium Smoking," p. 162.
30. William W. Wood, *Sketches of China* (Philadelphia: Carey & Lea, 1830), pp. 208–10.
31. Macauley, "Small Time Crooks," pp. 6, 7, 8, 22.
32. Joyce Madancy, *The Troublesome Legacy of Commissioner Lin: The Opium Trade and Opium Suppression in Fujian Province, 1820s to 1920s* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Asia Center, 2003), p. 52.
33. The foregoing section is heavily indebted to Melissa Macauley, "Small Time Crooks."

34. Yu Ende, paraphrasing Tao Zhu in *Zhongguo jinyan faling bianqian shi* (Shanghai: Zhonghua shuju, 1934), p. 51; Tao Zhu was the Liangjiang governor-general at the time.
35. “Pao Shih-ch’en,” in Hummel, ed., *Eminent Chinese*, vol. 2, pp. 610–11; William T. Rowe, *Speaking of Profit: Bao Shichen and Reform in Nineteenth-Century China*, prepublication book manuscript, chapter 1.
36. Susan Mann’s translation in *The Talented Women of the Zhang Family* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2007), p. 251, n. 83.
37. My profile of Bao Shichen is much indebted to William Rowe, *Speaking of Profit*, chapter 1.
38. Philip Kuhn, *Origins of the Modern Chinese State* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2002), pp. 19–20.
39. William Rowe, “Bao Shichen and Agrarian Reform in Early Nineteenth-Century China,” *Frontiers of History in China* 9, no. 1 (2014): 1–31, see p. 9.
40. Rowe, “Bao Shichen and Agrarian Reform,” p. 15.
41. Bao Shichen, “Gengchen zazhu er,” in *Bao Shichen quan ji (guanqing sanyi, qimin sishu)*, ed. Li Xing (Hefei: Huangshan shushe, 1997), pp. 209–13, see p. 213.
42. Rowe, “Bao Shichen and Agrarian Reform,” p. 17.
43. Bao Shichen, “Gengchen zazhu er.”
44. Ibid.
45. Guan Tong, “Jin yong yanghuo yi,” in Hu Qiuyuan, ed., *Jindai Zhongguo dui Xifang ji lieqiang renshi ziliao huibian* (Taipei: Academia Sinica, Modern History Institute, 1972) (hereafter *JDZGDXF*), vol. 1, pp. 819–20.
46. Guan Tong, “Jin yong yanghuo yi,” pp. 819–820.
47. Biographical note on Cheng Hanzhang in *JDZGDXF*, vol. 1, p. 817; Inoue Hiromasa, “Wu Lanxiu and Society in Guangzhou on the Eve of the Opium War,” trans. Joshua Fogel, *Modern China* 12, no. 1 (January 1986): 103–15, see pp. 110–12; Cheng Hanzhang, “Lun Yanghai,” in *JDZGDXF*, vol. 1, p. 817.
48. Cheng Hanzhang, “Lun Yanghai,” p. 817.
49. Bao Shichen, “Da Xiao Meisheng shu,” in *JDZGDXF*, vol. 1, p. 800.
50. Biographical note on Xiao Lingyu in *JDZGDXF*, vol. 1, p. 766.

51. Xiao Lingyu, “Yingjili ji,” in *YPZZ*, vol. 1, pp. 19–30.
52. For a wonderful study of Qing perceptions of India, see Matthew W. Mosca, “Qing China’s Perspectives on India, 1750–1847” (Ph.D. dissertation, Harvard University, 2008), later revised and published as *From Frontier Policy to Foreign Policy: The Question of India and the Transformation of Geopolitics in Qing China* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2013).
53. Bao Shichen, “Da Xiao Meisheng shu,” p. 800.
54. Xiao Lingyu, “Yingjili ji,” p. 22.
55. This is actually a fairly accurate rendition of Amherst’s response, which Henry Ellis relates in his account of the embassy. See Ellis, *Journal of the Proceedings of the Late Embassy to China* (London: John Murray, 1817), p. 412.

CHAPTER 9 Freedom

1. Harriet Low Hillard, *Lights and Shadows of a Macao Life: The Journal of Harriett [sic] Low, Traveling Spinster*, ed. Nan P. Hodges and Arthur W. Hummel (Woodinville, WA: The History Bank, 2002), vol. 1, p. 196.
2. Hosea Ballou Morse, *The Chronicles of the East India Company Trading to China, 1635–1834* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1926), vol. 4, pp. 199–21.
3. In Hillard, *Journal of Harriett Low*, vol. 1, p. 73, Low calls her the prettiest woman in Macao (“she is a *beauty*”).
4. *Ibid.*, pp. 110, 141; William C. Hunter, *The ‘Fan Kwae’ at Canton before Treaty Days, 1825–1844* (London: Kegan Paul, Trench & Co., 1882), p. 120.
5. Hillard, *Journal of Harriett Low*, vol. 1, pp. 141–42.
6. *Ibid.*, vol. 2, p. 435.
7. Low complained to her sister of being left behind, writing of a woman she feared would join the others in Canton, “I do hope she will not go this season to C[anton], for we shall be alone if she does.” Hillard, *Journal of Harriett Low*, vol. 1, p. 110.
8. Morse, *Chronicles*, vol. 4, p. 236.
9. *Ibid.*, p. 237.

10. Ibid., pp. 237–38.
11. Hillard, *Journal of Harriett Low*, vol. 1, p. 193.
12. Ibid., vol. 1, pp. 193, 194.
13. Hunter, *The ‘Fan Kwae’ at Canton*, p. 120.
14. “China Trade: Copy of a Petition of British Subjects in China...,” House of Commons, March 20, 1833; the petition is also reproduced in Alain Le Pichon, ed., *China Trade and Empire: Jardine, Matheson & Co. and the Origins of British Rule in Hong Kong, 1827–1843* (Oxford: Oxford University Press for the British Academy, 2006), appendix IV, pp. 553–59.
15. On claims of governor, see Morse, *Chronicles*, vol. 4, p. 286; on the position of the two portraits in the great hall, see Gideon Nye, *The Morning of My Life in China* (Canton, 1873), p. 20.
16. “Resolutions of the British Merchants of Canton,” May 30, 1831, in Morse, *Chronicles*, vol. 4, p. 311.
17. Secret letter from the Select Committee to the Court of Directors, June 18, 1831, in *Papers Relating to the Affairs of the East India Company, 1831–32* (House of Commons, 1832), pp. 6–10.
18. Robert Bennet Forbes to John Perkins Cushing, June 30, 1831, Forbes Family Papers, Massachusetts Historical Society.
19. Robert Bennet Forbes to Thomas H. Perkins, December 21, 1831, *ibid.*
20. On September 5, 1832, she described him as “my *recherché* admirer, Gutzlaff.” Hillard, *Journal of Harriett Low*, vol. 2, p. 435.
21. Issachar Roberts in 1839, as quoted in Jessie Lutz, *Opening China: Karl F. A. Gutzlaff and Sino-Western Relations, 1827–1852* (Grand Rapids, MI: William B. Eerdmans, 2008), p. 20.
22. Charles (Karl) Gutzlaff, *Journal of Three Voyages along the Coast of China* (London: Frederick Westley and A. H. Davis, 1834), p. 71.
23. Lutz, *Opening China*, p. 72.
24. Gutzlaff, *Journal*, pp. 68, 69, 70, 88.
25. Ibid., pp. 73, 128, 107.
26. Ibid., pp. 132–33.
27. Ibid., p. 151.
28. *Hansard’s Parliamentary Debates*, 3rd series (London: T. C. Hansard), HC Deb., June 28, 1831, vol. 4, quotations from cc. 432, 433, and 435.

29. *Hansard*, HL Deb., December 13, 1831, vol. 9, quotations from cc. 211, 212.
30. Quoted in Capt. T. H. Bullock, *The Chinese Vindicated, or Another View of the Opium Question* (London: Wm. H. Allen and Co., 1840), pp. 8, 10.
31. Charles Stuart Parker, *Life and Letters of Sir James Graham, Second Baronet of Netherby, P.C., G.C.B., 1792–1861* (London: John Murray, 1907), vol. 1, p. 150.
32. Anthony Webster, *The Twilight of the East India Company* (Woodbridge, Suffolk, UK: Boydell Press, 2009), p. 62.
33. “East India Company—China Question,” *Edinburgh Review*, January 1831, pp. 281–322, quotation on p. 311.
34. Yukihiisa Kumagai, “The Lobbying Activities of Provincial Mercantile and Manufacturing Interests against the Renewal of the East India Company’s Charter, 1812–1813 and 1829–1833” (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Glasgow, 2008), p. 133.
35. John Slade, *Notices on the British Trade to the Port of Canton* (London: Smith, Elder, and Co., 1830), pp. 65–68.
36. Webster, *Twilight of the East India Company*, p. 98.
37. Bates testimony, March 15, 1830, in *Reports from the Select Committee of the House of Commons Appointed to Enquire into the Present State of the Affairs of the East India Company, together with the Minutes of Evidence, and Appendix of Documents, and a General Index* (London: Printed by order of the Honourable Court of Directors, 1830), pp. 332–56.
38. John Murray Forbes, *Reminiscences of John Murray Forbes*, ed. Sarah Forbes Hughes (Boston: George H. Ellis, 1902), vol. 1, p. 154.
39. C. H. Philips, *The East India Company, 1784–1834* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1940), pp. 289, 291–292; Webster, *Twilight of the East India Company*, pp. 99–100; “The Directors are labouring”: Charles Marjoribanks to Hugh Hamilton Lindsay from St. Helena, April 19, 1832, Lindsay Papers, D(W)1920-4/1, Staffordshire Records Office, Stafford, England.
40. George Thomas Staunton diary, November 17, 1831, Staunton Papers, Rubenstein Library, Duke University, Durham, NC, accessed via Adam Matthew Digital, “China: Trade, Politics and Culture, 1793–1980.”
41. Staunton diary, December 10, 1831.

42. George Staunton, “To the Freeholders of the County of Southampton,” and “To the Freeholders and other Electors of South Hants” (n.d., newspaper clippings contained in Staunton diary for 1831–37).
43. “slipshod and untidy”: George W. E. Russell, *Collections and Recollections* (New York and London: Harper & Brothers, 1903), p. 138, cited in Antonia Fraser, *Perilous Question: Reform or Revolution? Britain on the Brink, 1832* (New York: PublicAffairs, 2013), p. 59.
44. George Thomas Staunton, *Memoirs of the Chief Incidents of the Public Life of Sir George Thomas Staunton, Bart.*, printed for private circulation (London: L. Booth, 1856), pp. 124–27; David Brown, *Palmerston: A Biography* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2010), pp. 170–74.
45. Staunton, *Memoirs*, p. 77.
46. “Sir George Staunton, we find, has postponed his motion on the China trade...,” *Times*, April 1, 1833.
47. George Thomas Staunton, *Corrected Report of the Speeches of Sir George Staunton, on the China Trade, in the House of Commons, June 4, and June 13, 1833* (London: Edmund Lloyd, 1833), pp. 6, 9.
48. Staunton’s mumbling: untitled clipping in Staunton’s diary for 1831–37 (Staunton Papers), in which Buckingham refers to “the low tone of voice in which the hon. baronet addressed the house,” which the reporters could not hear, so that his entire speech was reduced to just a few lines in the papers the next day; “It could not be expected”: *Hansard*, HC Deb., June 4, 1833, vol. 18, c. 378.
49. *Ibid.*, June 13, 1833, vol. 18, c. 708.
50. William James Thompson in London to Jardine, Matheson & Co. in Canton, April 8, 1833 (and allowing six months for the letter’s arrival in Canton). In Le Pichon, *China Trade and Empire*, p. 180.

CHAPTER 10 A Darkening Turn

1. Eliza Morrison, *Memoirs of the Life and Labours of Robert Morrison, D.D.* (London: Longman, Orme, Brown, Green, and Longmans, 1839), vol. 2, p. 505.
2. Houqua to John Murray Forbes, January 25, 1834, Forbes Family Business

Records, vol. F-5, pp. 56–57, Baker Library Historical Collections, Harvard Business School.

3. Basil Lubbock, *The Opium Clippers* (Glasgow: Brown, Son & Ferguson, Ltd., 1933), pp. 4, 13 passim; A. R. Williamson, *Eastern Traders: Some Men and Ships of Jardine, Matheson & Company* (S.l.: Jardine, Matheson & Co., 1975), p. 191.
4. William Jardine to James Matheson, January 28, 1832, in Alain Le Pichon, ed., *China Trade and Empire: Jardine, Matheson & Co. and the Origins of British Rule in Hong Kong, 1827–1843* (Oxford: Oxford University Press for the British Academy, 2006), pp. 143–45, quotation on p. 144.
5. Harriet Low Hillard, *Lights and Shadows of a Macao Life: The Journal of Harriett [sic] Low, Traveling Spinster*, ed. Nan P. Hodges and Arthur W. Hummel (Woodinville, WA: The History Bank, 2002), vol. 2, p. 590.
6. Hugh Hamilton Lindsay, *Report of Proceedings on a Voyage to the Northern Ports of China, in the Ship Lord Amherst*, 2nd ed. (London: B. Fellowes, 1834), pp. 10–11.
7. *Ibid.*, p. 44.
8. *Ship Amherst: Return to an Order of the Honourable the House of Commons, dated 17 June 1833...* (Printed by order of the House of Commons, June 19, 1833), p. 4.
9. “A Brief Account of the English Character,” original English as reproduced in Ting Man Tsao, “Representing ‘Great England’ to Qing China in the Age of Free Trade Imperialism: The Circulation of a Tract by Charles Marjoribanks on the China Coast,” *Victorians Institute Journal* 33 (2005): 179–96; an English version also appeared in the *Canton Register*, July 18, 1832; the Chinese version is in *Yapian zhanzheng dang’an shiliao* (Shanghai: Renmin chubanshe, 1987), vol. 1, pp. 118–20.
10. “Voyage of the Amherst to Northern China,” *Eclectic Review*, October 1833, p. 332, cited in Ting Man Tsao, “Representing China to the British Public in the Age of Free Trade, c. 1833–1844” (Ph.D. dissertation, SUNY Stony Brook, 2000), p. 51.
11. “Mr. Gutzlaff’s Voyages along the Coast of China,” *Times*, August 26, 1834.
12. For example, “The Chinese,” *Farmer’s Cabinet*, Amherst, New Hampshire, December 7, 1832.

13. For example, the *Evangelical Magazine and Missionary Chronicle*, vol. 12, new series (September 1834): 381.
14. *Ship Amherst*, p. 5.
15. Robert Bickers, "The *Challenger*: Hugh Hamilton Lindsay and the Rise of British Asia, 1832–1865," *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, vol. 22 (December 2012): 141–69, see pp. 146, 152–57.
16. William Jardine to James Matheson, January 28, 1832, in Le Pichon, *China Trade and Empire*, pp. 143–45.
17. "Voyage of the 'Sylph,' " *Canton Register*, May 31, 1833.
18. "Political Economy," *Canton Register*, May 13, 1831.
19. "Prize Essay," *Canton Register*, June 18, 1831.
20. These are listed in Alexander Wylie, *Memorials of the Protestant Missionaries to the Chinese* (Shanghai: American Presbyterian Mission Press, 1867), pp. 56–66.
21. For example, in a letter of June 1834, Gutzlaff said he was dedicating his next book (a history of China) to William Jardine, praising the opium baron for having "greatly assisted in the promotion of a free intercourse with the Chinese Empire, of which we may expect the greatest results both for religion, science and commerce." Gutzlaff to William Jardine, Canton, June 20, 1834, in Le Pichon, *China Trade and Empire*, pp. 216–17.
22. "Letter from Mr. Gutzlaff," *Boston Recorder*, April 5, 1834.
23. "Mission to China," *Boston Recorder*, May 31, 1834.
24. "[W]e are glad," proclaimed the Society's mission statement, "to engage in a warfare, where we are sure the victors and the vanquished will meet only to exult and rejoice together." "Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge," *Chinese Repository*, December 1834, p. 380; Report of a meeting of the Society, as "Supplement to the Canton Register," *Canton Register*, October 20, 1835.
25. "Barbarism. Civilisation," *Canton Register*, December 30, 1834.
26. As observed by George Staunton in *Miscellaneous Notices Relating to China, and Our Commercial Intercourse with That Country*, 2nd ed. (London: John Murray, 1822–50), p. 155.
27. Quoted in Anne Bulley, *The Bombay Country Ships, 1790–1833* (Richmond, Surrey: Curzon Press, 2000), p. 172.
28. Much to the *Canton Register* editor's outraged disbelief, Staunton told the

House of Commons that the Chinese were “an industrious, intelligent race” and that their government, “however despotic and arbitrary, is not practically oppressive.” “British Merchants’ Petition to Parliament,” *Canton Register*, August 16, 1832. Later, in the December 5, 1833, issue of the paper, the editor noted that Staunton was mainly remembered in Canton for his “violent opposition” to the merchants’ petition.

29. “A funeral sermon, occasioned by the death of the Right Honorable William-John, Lord Napier, his Britannic Majesty’s chief superintendent in China,” *Chinese Repository* 3, no. 6 (October 1834): 271–80.
30. Diary of William John, 9th Lord Napier, entry for October 26, 1833, manuscript in private possession of Lord Napier and Ettrick.
31. Before his departure, King William confided to Napier, “I can tell you I fought a hard Battle for you—if it had not been for me, you would never have got it.” William John Napier diary, Christmas Day 1833.
32. William John Napier, “Letters to Earl Grey, Lord Palmerston and Others. 1833–1834. China,” manuscript notebook in private possession of Lord Napier and Ettrick.
33. Viscount Palmerston to Lord Napier, January 25, 1834, in *Correspondence relating to China. Presented to both Houses of Parliament, by Command of Her Majesty, 1840* (London: T. R. Harrison, 1840), pp. 4–5.
34. Harriet Low Hillard, *My Mother’s Journal: A Young Lady’s Diary of Five Years Spent in Manila, Macao, and the Cape of Good Hope*, ed. Katharine Hillard (Boston: George H. Ellis, 1900), p. v.
35. Palmerston to Napier, January 25, 1834, UK National Archives, Public Record Office, Foreign Office records (hereafter PRO FO), 17/5/87–89.
36. Napier diary, February 25, 1834.
37. William John Napier, “Remarks and Extracts relative to diplomatic relations with China,” personal notebook kept during voyage to China. In private possession of Lord Napier and Ettrick.
38. Ibid.
39. Ibid.
40. Heat wave reported in the *Commercial Advertiser*, January 19, 1835.
41. Eliza Morrison, *Life and Labours*, vol. 2, p. 524.
42. As Palmerston wrote to Napier’s widow in 1840, “I think Lord Napier misconceived the Instruction to go to Canton; which meant only that he

should go thither in the usual manner, and was not intended to imply that he should go up from Macao without the ordinary Formalities of Passports, etc.” Palmerston to Elizabeth Napier, April 5, 1840. Palmerston Papers, GC/NA/20/enc 1, University of Southampton.

43. Eliza Morrison, *Life and Labours*, vol. 2, p. 526.
44. As related in memorial from Lu Kun, DG14/8/28 (September 30, 1834), in Qi Sihe et al., eds., *Yapian zhanzheng* (Shanghai: Xin zhishi chubanshe, 1955), vol. 1, p. 119.
45. Napier to Palmerston, August 8, 1834, in *Correspondence relating to China* (1840), p. 8.
46. Ibid., p. 9.
47. George Thomas Staunton, *Remarks on the British Relations with China, and the Proposed Plans for Improving Them* (London: Edmund Lloyd, 1836), p. 38.
48. *Correspondence relating to China* (1840), pp. 25, 47, 62, 65 (capitalization changed for consistency).
49. Napier to Margaret Heron Maxwell, August 6, 1834, letter in possession of the Clan Napier Society.
50. Napier to Charles Grant, August 14, 1834, in Napier notebook, “Letters to Earl Grey, Lord Palmerston and Others.”
51. Napier to Palmerston, August 14, 1834, in *Correspondence relating to China* (1840), pp. 11–15, see p. 12.
52. Ibid., pp. 12–14.
53. Napier to Palmerston, August 27, 1834, in *Correspondence relating to China* (1840), p. 29.
54. “Present state of relations between China and Great Britain—Interesting to the Chinese merchants—A true and official Document,” in *Correspondence relating to China* (1840), p. 33.
55. Per account given in Johnston to Astell, October 11, 1834, PRO FO 17/12/180–85.
56. Napier letter for communication to the Chinese authorities and Hong merchants, September 8, 1834, in *Correspondence relating to China* (1840), pp. 35–36.
57. Duke of Wellington to Lord Napier, February 2, 1835, PRO FO 17/8/2. Wellington was serving briefly as foreign secretary after a change of

government, though after yet another change Palmerston would soon be returned to the position.

58. John F. Davis to George Staunton, October 20, 1834, PRO FO 17/12/101–3. In his eyewitness account, Davis said each vessel fired 350 rounds of shot.
59. James Goddard, *Remarks on the Late Lord Napier's Mission to Canton; in Reference to the Present State of our Relations with China*, printed for private circulation (London, 1836), pp. 8–9.
60. Napier to Palmerston (postscript), August 17, 1834, in *Correspondence relating to China* (1840), pp. 15–16, quotation on p. 16.
61. Napier's widow was especially angry at the other British for turning against her husband. Lord Napier's negotiations, she wrote in a letter home, would have succeeded "had not selfish interests and party spirit interfered, and given the Chinese courage to hold out by showing them that disunion prevailed among the British merchants." Their refusal to support Napier, she added, "is well known here." Lady Napier to Alexander Hunter, November 4, 1834, PRO FO 17/12/191–95.

CHAPTER 11 Means of Solution

1. Joyce Madancy, *The Troublesome Legacy of Commissioner Lin: The Opium Trade and Opium Suppression in Fujian Province, 1820s to 1920s* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Asia Center, 2003), p. 51, citing Lin Renchuan, "Qingdai Fujian de yapian maoyi," *Zhongguo shehui jingji yanjiu*, vol. 1 (Xiamen: Fujian xinwen): 62–71, see pp. 63–65.
2. Philip Kuhn, *Rebellion and Its Enemies in Late Imperial China: Militarization and Social Structure, 1796–1864* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1971), pp. 106–7; "Yin bingding xishi yapian zhishi lianzhou jinbing buneng deli zhaozhong chu Li Hongbing deng shangyu," in *Yapian zhanzheng dang'an shiliao* (Shanghai: Renmin chubanshe, 1987), vol. 1, p. 130; James Polachek, *The Inner Opium War* (Cambridge, MA: Council on East Asian Studies/Harvard University Press, 1992), p. 109.
3. "Formosa," *Canton Register*, October 24, 1833.
4. "Formosa," *Chinese Courier and Canton Gazette*, March 22, 1832.

5. Philip Kuhn and Susan Mann, "Dynastic Decline and the Roots of Rebellion," in *The Cambridge History of China*, vol. 10, *Late Ch'ing, 1800–1911, Part 1*, ed. John K. Fairbank and Denis Twitchett (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1978), pp. 107–62 and passim; Ts'ui-jung Liu, "A Retrospection of Climate Changes and their Impacts in Chinese History," in *Nature, Environment and Culture in East Asia: The Challenge of Climate Change*, ed. Carmen Meinert (Leiden: Brill, 2013), pp. 107–36, see p. 132.
6. Lin Man-houng, *China Upside Down: Currency, Society, and Ideologies, 1808–1856* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Asia Center, 2006), p. 107.
7. Ibid., pp. 86–87.
8. William T. Rowe, "Money, Economy, and Polity in the Daoguang-Era Paper Currency Debates," *Late Imperial China* 31, no. 2 (December 2010): 69–96, see p. 70.
9. Hosea Ballou Morse, *The Chronicles of the East India Company Trading to China, 1635–1834* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1926), vol. 4, pp. 259–60. On the melting down of sycee in London, see John Phipps, *A Practical Treatise on the China and Eastern Trade* (London: Wm. H. Allen and Co., 1836), p. 168.
10. Richard von Glahn, "Cycles of Silver in Chinese Monetary History," in *The Economy of Lower Yangzi Delta in Late Imperial China*, ed. Billy K. L. So (New York: Routledge, 2013), pp. 17–71, see pp. 45–46.
11. Ibid., p. 54; Rowe, "Money, Economy, and Polity," pp. 71–72.
12. Lin, *China Upside Down*, pp. 107–14. According to Lin, by the 1850s China's own silver supplies would recover, even as far more opium was by then being purchased from abroad, lending weight to the argument that the opium trade had in fact been only incidental to the monetary crisis of the 1830s.
13. Daoguang edict of DG14/9/3 (October 5, 1834), in *Da Qing Xuanzong Cheng (Daoguang) huangdi shilu* (Taipei: Taiwan Huawen shuju, 1964), *juan* 256, pp. 3b–5b, quotation on p. 4b.
14. Lu Kun memorial of DG14/10/3 (November 3, 1834), in Qi Sihe et al., eds., *Yapian zhanzheng* (Shanghai: Xin zhishi chubanshe, 1955) (hereafter YPZZ), vol. 1, pp. 118–19.

15. Liang Tingnan, *Yifen wenji*, in *YPZZ*, vol. 6, pp. 1–104, see p. 7.
16. Wu Lanxiu, “Mihai,” in Liang, *Yifen wenji*, in *YPZZ*, vol. 6, pp. 6–7.
17. Liang, *Yifen wenji*, in *YPZZ*, vol. 6, p. 7.
18. Paul Howard, “Opium Suppression in Qing China: Responses to a Social Problem, 1729–1906” (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Pennsylvania, 1998), pp. 104–5.
19. *Report from the Select Committee of the House of Commons on the Affairs of the East-India Company, 16th August, 1832* (London: J. L. Cox and Son, 1833), p. 89. Staunton registered his “entire disapproval” of that resolution in George Staunton, *Corrected Report of the Speech of Sir George Staunton, on Sir James Graham’s Motion on the China Trade* (London: Edmund Lloyd, 1840), p. 10.
20. *Hansard’s Parliamentary Debates*, 3rd series (London: T. C. Hansard), HC Deb., June 13, 1833, vol. 18, c. 770.
21. Charles Marjoribanks, *Letter to the Right Hon. Charles Grant, President of the Board of Controul, on the Present State of British Intercourse with China* (London: J. Hatchard and Son, 1833), p. 16.
22. *Ibid.*, p. 17.
23. As Gutzlaff wrote in 1838, “The illicit trade in opium cannot be excused in any way. The drug is destructive of health, and highly demoralizing to the consumer; thousands, by a momentary enjoyment, lose the happiness of a whole life, and find a premature grave.” Charles (Karl) Gutzlaff, *China Opened* (London: Smith, Elder and Co., 1838), vol. 2, p. 73.
24. Robert Philip and Thomas Thompson, *No Opium! or: Commerce and Christianity Working Together for Good in China* (London: Thomas Ward and Co., 1835); the pamphlet was anonymous, but authorship is given in a memoir of Robert Philip by his son. See Robert Philip, *Manly Piety: A Book for Young Men* (London: William P. Nimmo, 1879), p. 36.
25. Phipps and Thompson, *No Opium!*, p. 7.
26. *Ibid.*, pp. 10, 13.
27. *Ibid.*, p. 56.
28. “The Petition of the Undermentioned British Subjects at Canton,” December 9, 1834, UK National Archives, Public Record Office, Foreign Office records (hereafter PRO FO), 17/12/251–52.
29. Houqua to John Perkins Cushing, October 10, 1834, Forbes Family

- Business Records, vol. F-5, p. 98, Baker Library, Harvard Business School.
30. John Murray Forbes to Joshua Bates, September 20, 1834, *ibid.*, vol. F-6, p. 23.
 31. John Murray Forbes to John Perkins Cushing, December 22, 1834, *ibid.*, vol. F-6, n.p. (changing “Viceroy” to “governor-general”).
 32. John Barrow to John Backhouse (private), March 13, 1834, PRO FO 17/12/172–73.
 33. John F. Davis, trans., *The Fortunate Union: A Romance* (London: Printed for the Oriental Translation Fund, 1829), p. vi.
 34. Palmerston to Napier, January 25, 1834, states that any vacancies in the committee should be filled with other members of the former Company factory; PRO FO 17/5/69.
 35. John F. Davis to George Staunton, October 20, 1834, PRO FO 17/12/101–2.
 36. Davis to Palmerston, January 19, 1835, in *Correspondence relating to China. Presented to both Houses of Parliament, by Command of Her Majesty, 1840* (London: T. R. Harrison, 1840), pp. 78–80, quotation on p. 80.
 37. Davis to Palmerston, January 2, 1835, *ibid.*, p. 76.
 38. “Imperial Edict, against extortions of Hong Merchants under the name of Duties, and against incurring debts to Foreigners,” enclosure to *ibid.*, p. 77.
 39. Lady Napier to Alexander Hunter, Macao, November 4, 1834, PRO FO 17/12/194.
 40. Richard J. Grace, *Opium and Empire: The Lives and Careers of William Jardine and James Matheson* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill–Queen’s University Press, 2014), p. 166.
 41. Matheson to Jardine from London, July 8, 1835, Jardine Matheson Archive, JM B-10, Cambridge University.
 42. See, for example, her letter to Palmerston of April 20, 1835, PRO FO 17/12/257–59.
 43. Lady Napier to Palmerston, Castle Craig, July 14, 1835, PRO FO 17/12/346–48.
 44. Matheson to Jardine, August 24, 1835, in Alain Le Pichon, ed., *China Trade and Empire: Jardine, Matheson & Co. and the Origins of British Rule in Hong Kong, 1827–1843* (Oxford: Oxford University Press for the

British Academy, 2006), p. 271.

45. Matheson to Jardine from London, August 1, 1835, Jardine Matheson Archive, JM B-10, Cambridge University.
46. Lady Napier to Hugh Hamilton Lindsay, January 18, 1836, Lindsay Papers, D(W)1920-4-1, Staffordshire Records Office, Stafford, England.
47. Le Pichon, *China Trade and Empire*, p. 376, n. 65.
48. James Matheson, *The Present Position and Prospects of the British Trade with China* (London: Smith, Elder and Co., 1836), p. 1.
49. *Ibid.*, quotations from pp. 5, 6, and 79–80.
50. Hugh Hamilton Lindsay, *Letter to the Right Honourable Viscount Palmerston on British Relations with China* (London: Saunders and Otley, 1836), quotations from pp. 3, 4, 6, and 19.
51. George Staunton, *Remarks on the British Relations with China, and the Proposed Plans for Improving Them* (London: Edmund Lloyd, 1836), quotations from pp. 1, 7, 11, and 24.
52. *Ibid.*, p. 28.
53. Xu Naiji, “Yapian yan lijn yuyan liubi yuda yingji qing biantong banli zhe,” in Qi Sihe, ed., *Huang Juezi zoushu, Xu Naiji zouyi hekan* (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1959), pp. 216–18.
54. Dai Xueji, ed., *Yapian zhanzheng renwu zhuan* (Fuzhou: Fujian jiaoyu chubanshe, 1985), p. 38; “Teng T’ing-chen,” in Arthur W. Hummel, ed., *Eminent Chinese of the Ch’ing Period* (Taipei: SMC Publishing, Inc., 1991), vol. 2, pp. 716–17.
55. Deng Tingzhen memorial in response to Xu Naiji, in *Chouban yiwu shimo*, ed. Wen Qing *et al.* (Beijing: Gugong bowuyuan, 1929–30), Daoguang *juan* 1, pp. 5b, 6b.

CHAPTER 12 The Last Honest Man

1. Charles Elliot report of March 7, 1832, from Office of Protector of Slaves, in *Papers Presented to Parliament, by His Majesty’s Command, in Explanation of the Measures Adopted by His Majesty’s Government for the Melioration of the Condition of the Slave Population in His Majesty’s Possessions in the West Indies, on the Continent of South America, and at*

the Mauritius (Printed by order of the House of Commons, August 8 1832), pp. 241–44, see p. 244. On Elliot's becoming an abolitionist: as he wrote to a friend in government in 1832, "What should be given to the Slaves is *such a state of FREEDOM as they are now fit for*." Charles Elliot to Lord Howick, 1832, excerpt, in Kenneth Ball and W. P. Morrell, eds., *Select Documents on British Colonial Policy, 1830–1860* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1928), p. 382.

2. Charles Elliot to his sister Emma Hislop, January 25, 1834, Minto Papers, MS 13135, National Library of Scotland.
3. Ibid.
4. Elliot to his sister, May 10, 1834, *ibid*.
5. Elliot's promotion: "Official Notification," *Canton Register*, October 28, 1834. Strong liking: as Elliot bragged to his sister, "Our intercourse has been very intimate, and publicly *very confidential*": Elliot to his sister, January 19, 1835, Minto Papers, MS 13135, National Library of Scotland. "Duck my head": Elliot to George Lenox-Conyngham, March 18, 1837, UK National Archives, Public Record Office, Foreign Office records (hereafter PRO FO), 17/20/56–57. Resigned preemptively: John F. Davis to George Staunton, October 20, 1835, PRO FO 17/12/101–3. Right kind of "temper": Davis to Palmerston, December 9, 1834, PRO FO 17/6/222. Better if Elliot had been superintendent: Davis to John Barrow, November 8, 1834, PRO FO 17/12/176. "Uneasy for the state of affairs": Davis to Palmerston, June 26, 1835, PRO FO 17/12/341.
6. Elliot to George Lenox-Conyngham, January 28, 1836 (rec'd at Foreign Office June 6, 1836), PRO FO 17/15/7–13, see fol. 13; W. C. Costin, *Great Britain and China, 1833–1860* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1937), p. 32.
7. Petition from the "East India and China Association," June 29, 1836, PRO FO 17/16/142–44.
8. Palmerston to the Treasury, November 8, 1836, PRO FO 17/17/160–64.
9. Elliot to his sister, April 28, 1835, Minto Papers, MS 13135, National Library of Scotland; Susanna Hoe and Derek Roebuck, *The Taking of Hong Kong: Charles and Clara Elliot in China Waters* (Richmond, Surrey: Curzon Press, 1999), p. 46.
10. Daoguang's edict approving of Elliot coming to Canton under the taipan regulations, dated DG17/zheng/18 (February 12, 1838), is in *Yapian zhanzheng dang'an shiliao* (Shanghai: Renmin chubanshe, 1987), vol. 1, p.

11. Elliot to Palmerston, December 14, 1836 (rec'd May 1, 1837), in *Correspondence relating to China. Presented to both Houses of Parliament, by Command of Her Majesty, 1840* (London: T. R. Harrison, 1840), p. 139.
12. Clara Elliot to Emma Hislop, November 4, 1839, Minto Papers, MS 13137, National Library of Scotland.
13. Elliot to Palmerston, January 25, 1836 (rec'd June 6, 1836), PRO FO 17/15/3–7, quotation on fol. 5.
14. Elliot to Palmerston, February 2, 1837 (rec'd Jul. 17, 1837), in *Correspondence relating to China* (1840), p. 153.
15. PRO FO 17/24 is fully dedicated to Gutzlaff's reports from 1835 to 1837.
16. "Remarks on the Opium Trade with China," *Chinese Repository* 5, no. 6 (November 1836): 300.
17. "If my private feelings were of the least consequence," he wrote to Palmerston at one point, "...I might justly say, that no man entertains a deeper detestation of the disgrace and sin of this forced traffic on the coast of China than the humble individual who signs this despatch." He saw "little to choose between it and piracy." Elliot to Palmerston, November 16, 1839, in *Additional Papers Relating to China. Presented to both Houses of Parliament by Command of Her Majesty, 1840* (London: T. R. Harrison, 1840), pp. 3–5, quotation on p. 5.
18. Elliot to Palmerston, February 21, 1837, in *Correspondence relating to China* (1840), pp. 189–90.
19. William C. Hunter, *Bits of Old China* (London: Kegan Paul, Trench & Co., 1885), p. 270.
20. Harriet Low Hillard, *Lights and Shadows of a Macao Life: The Journal of Harriett [sic] Low, Traveling Spinster*, ed. Nan P. Hodges and Arthur W. Hummel (Woodinville, WA: The History Bank, 2002), vol. 1, pp. 14–15.
21. John Murray Forbes to his wife, Sarah Forbes, February 20, 1835, in *Reminiscences of John Murray Forbes*, ed. Sarah Forbes Hughes (Boston: George H. Ellis, 1902), vol. 1, p. 192.
22. John Murray Forbes to Sarah Forbes, July 11, 1835, in John Murray Forbes, *Letters (supplementary) of John Murray Forbes*, ed. Sarah Forbes Hughes (Boston: George H. Ellis, 1905), vol. 1, p. 22.

23. John Murray Forbes to Sarah Forbes, March 25, 1836, in *ibid.*, vol. 1, p. 26.
24. Robert Bennet Forbes to Thomas Handasyd Perkins, October 25, 1831, Forbes Family Papers, Massachusetts Historical Society.
25. John Murray Forbes to Sarah Forbes, August 1836, describes Houqua as “horror struck” when John tells him he will return home. *Reminiscences of John Murray Forbes*, vol. 1, p. 227; see *ibid.*, p. 273, for “moderate competency.”
26. Forbes, *Reminiscences of John Murray Forbes*, vol. 1, pp. 245–47. The figure of \$100,000 is from John Murray Forbes’s letter to Robert Bennet Forbes, June 19, 1836, Forbes Family Papers, Massachusetts Historical Society. Half a million of Houqua’s money: *Reminiscences of John Murray Forbes*, vol. 1, p. 273.
27. Wu Yixiong, “Deng Tingzhen yu Guangdong jinyan wenti,” *Jindaishi yanjiu* (2008, no. 5): 37–55, see p. 41.
28. Jardine to Capt. Rees on the *Austen*, April 25, 1837, Jardine private letterbook, JM C4/6, Jardine Matheson Archive, Cambridge University.
29. Jardine to Jamsetjee Jeejeebhoy, November 27, 1837, Jardine private letterbook, JM C4/6.
30. Jardine to Jamsetjee Jeejeebhoy, January 8, 1838, Jardine private letterbook, JM C4/6.
31. Jardine to H. Fawcett in Bombay, February 21, 1838, Jardine private letterbook, JM C4/7.
32. Extract of letter from Charles Elliot to George Lenox-Conyngham, June 12, 1837, PRO FO 17/28/269–70.
33. Elliot to Palmerston, November 19, 1837, in *Correspondence relating to China* (1840), pp. 241–42.
34. Elliot to Palmerston, November 18, 1837, in *ibid.*, p. 233.
35. Elliot to Palmerston, November 19, 1837, in *ibid.*, p. 242.
36. *Ibid.*, p. 245.
37. Palmerston to Elliot, June 15, 1838, in *ibid.*, p. 258.
38. A draft of the China Courts Bill is in PRO FO 17/28/48–49.
39. Staunton to Palmerston, May 3, 1838, Palmerston Papers, GC/ST/36, University of Southampton.

40. Staunton to Palmerston, June 10, 1838, Palmerston Papers, GC/ST/37; Palmerston to Staunton, June 10, 1838, Palmerston Papers, GC/ST/46.
41. “I have not forgotten the *counting out* I experienced five years ago,” he confided to Palmerston, “and am still less disposed than I was then, to address an unwilling audience.” Staunton to Palmerston, June 12, 1838. Palmerston Papers, GC/ST/38.
42. *Hansard’s Parliamentary Debates*, 3rd series (London: T. C. Hansard), HC Deb., July 28, 1838, vol. 44, c. 744.
43. *Hansard*, HC Deb., July 28, 1838, vol. 44, c. 745; audience response as per report in *Canton Register*, December 11, 1838.
44. Elliot to Palmerston, January 2, 1839, in *Correspondence relating to China* (1840), p. 342.
45. Huang Juezi memorial of DG18/run4/10 (June 2, 1838), in *Yapian zhanzheng dang’an shiliao*, vol. 1, pp. 254–57, quotation on p. 255.
46. *Ibid.*, p. 256.
47. Yang Guozhen, *Lin Zexu zhuan* (Beijing: Renmin chubanshe, 1995), p. 197.
48. Mao Haijian, *Tianchao de bengkui: yapian zhanzheng zai yanjiu* (Beijing: Sanlian shudian, 2012), p. 94.
49. “Jie yan fang,” addendum to Lin Zexu memorial of DG18/5/19 (July 10, 1838), in *Yapian zhanzheng dang’an shiliao*, vol. 1, p. 274–77. The memorial itself is in *ibid.*, pp. 270–74. Ironically, according to one recent historian the opium ash used in many of these recipes had essentially been processed into heroin, so the treatment was far worse than the original habit; see Zhu Weizheng, *Rereading Modern Chinese History*, trans. Michael Dillon (Boston: Brill, 2015), p. 172.
50. Yang, *Lin Zexu zhuan*, p. 195.
51. Lin Zexu memorial of DG8/8/2 (September 20, 1838), in *Lin Zexu quan ji*, ed. Mao Linli *et al.* (Fuzhou: Haixia wenyi chubanshe, 2002), vol. 3, zouzhe, pp. 76–79, quotation on p. 79. Translation is that of P. C. Kuo in *A Critical Study of the Anglo-Chinese War, with Documents* (Taipei: Ch’eng Wen Publishing Co., 1970), p. 85.
52. Dai Xueji, ed., *Yapian zhanzheng renwu zhuan* (Fuzhou: Fujian jiaoyu chubanshe, 1985), p. 32.
53. Mao Haijian, *Tianchao de bengkui*, pp. 92–93.

54. Lin Zexu diary entries for December 27, 1838, through January 3, 1839 (DG18/11/11 to DG18/11/18), in *Lin Zexu quan ji*, vol. 9, riji, pp. 363–64.
55. Chang Hsin-pao, *Commissioner Lin and the Opium War* (New York: Norton, 1964), p. 120.

CHAPTER 13 Showdown

1. Robert Inglis testimony in *Report from the Select Committee on the Trade with China; together with the Minutes of Evidence taken before Them* (Printed by order of the House of Commons, June 5, 1840), pp. 17–18.
2. In April 1838, Elliot reported, “In the course of the last two months the number of English boats employed in the illicit traffic between Lintin and Canton has vastly increased, and the deliveries of opium have frequently been accompanied by conflict of fire-arms between those vessels and the Government preventive craft.” Elliot to Palmerston, April 1, 1838, in *Correspondence relating to China. Presented to both Houses of Parliament, by Command of Her Majesty, 1840* (London: T. R. Harrison, 1840), p. 299.
3. Palmerston to Elliot, March 23, 1839, in *ibid.*, pp. 317–18.
4. Charles Elliot, for one, was convinced that if the Chinese government had just kept up its pressure on domestic users as it had been doing prior to Lin Zexu’s arrival, the British merchants of opium “would have been for the most part ruined.” In that case, there would have been no grounds for a war. Charles Elliot notes, n.d., defending his conduct in China, Minto Papers, MS 21218, National Library of Scotland. Jardine and others, incidentally, would later claim that the only smooth trade in the drug at the time had been conducted by Deng’s own men in the Pearl River, but there is no evidence that Deng himself was involved. See Jardine testimony in *Report from the Select Committee on the Trade with China* (1840), p. 101.
5. Jardine to Capt. Jauncey, December 10, 1838, Jardine private letterbook, JM C4/7, Jardine Matheson Archive, Cambridge University.
6. John Slade, *Narrative of the Late Proceedings and Events in China* (Canton: Canton Register Press, 1839), p. 3A–3C; Elliot to Palmerston, December 13, 1838, in *Correspondence relating to China* (1840), p. 324; Robert Forbes to Rose Forbes, December 18, 1838, in *Letters from China: The Canton-Boston Correspondence of Robert Bennet Forbes, 1838–1840*, ed. Phyllis Forbes Kerr (Mystic, CT: Mystic Seaport Museum, 1996), p. 76; William C. Hunter, *The ‘Fan Kwae’ at Canton before Treaty Days, 1825–1844* (London: Kegan Paul, Trench & Co., 1882), pp. 73–77 (with

incorrect date); *Canton Register*, “Extra” of December 13, 1838.

7. Palmerston to Elliot, April 15, 1839, in *Correspondence relating to China* (1840), p. 325.
8. “To the editor of the Canton Press,” *Canton Press*, February 27, 1839, in *Canton Press: Communications and Notes Relating to Chinese Customs, 1826–1840* (n.p.: 1826–40), p. 55.
9. Elliot to Palmerston, January 2, 1839, in *Correspondence relating to China* (1840), pp. 326–329.
10. “Public Notice to Her Majesty’s Subjects,” December 18, 1839, in *ibid.*, pp. 332–33.
11. Capt. Elliot to the Governor of Canton, December 23, 1838, in *ibid.*, p. 333.
12. Matheson to James A. Stewart-Mackenzie (then governor of Ceylon), January 26, 1839. Matheson private letterbook, JM C5/3, Jardine Matheson Archive, Cambridge University.
13. *Canton Register*, December 18, 1838.
14. *Canton Register*, December 25, 1838.
15. Robert Bennet Forbes to Rose Forbes, December 20, 1838, in Forbes, *Letters from China*, p. 77.
16. Robert Bennet Forbes to Rose Forbes, December 2, 1838, in *ibid.*, pp. 72–73.
17. Robert Bennet Forbes to Samuel Russell, January 12, 1839, cited in He Siping, “Russell and Company, 1818–1891: America’s Trade and Diplomacy in Nineteenth-Century China” (Ph.D. dissertation, Miami University, Ohio, 1997), p. 108.
18. Robert Bennet Forbes to Rose Forbes, February 27, 1839, in Forbes, *Letters from China*, pp. 98–99.
19. Jacques Downs, “American Merchants and the Opium Trade, 1800–1840,” *Business History Review* 42, no. 4 (Winter 1968): 418–42, see p. 441.
20. Jardine to A. Thomson, March 20, 1838, makes mention of Jardine’s plans to leave the following January; Jardine private letterbook, JM C4/7, Jardine Matheson Archive. Deng Tingzhen would send a rather self-serving report to the emperor that Jardine, whom he described as being responsible for most of the foreign opium vessels, had gone home because he was afraid of Deng’s crackdown on smuggling. See Lin Zexu’s memorial of DG19/3/21

(May 4, 1839) confirming Jardine's departure, in *Lin Zexu quan ji*, ed. Mao Linli *et al.* (Fuzhou: Haixia wenyi chubanshe, 2002), vol. 3, zouzhe, pp. 139–40.

21. *Canton Register*, January 29, 1839.
22. Elliot letter of introduction to Palmerston for William Jardine, January 26, 1839, UK National Archives, Public Record Office, Foreign Office records (hereafter PRO FO), PRO FO 17/30/236–37.
23. “Public Dinner to Mr. Jardine, on the occasion of his departure for Europe,” *Canton Register*, January 29, 1839.
24. Robert Bennet Forbes to Rose Forbes, January 25, 1839, in *Letters from China*, p. 88.
25. *Canton Register*, January 29, 1839; Richard J. Grace, *Opium and Empire: The Lives and Careers of William Jardine and James Matheson* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2014), pp. 224–26; Robert Bennet Forbes to Rose Forbes, January 25, 1839, in *Letters from China*, pp. 87–90.
26. Lei Jin, “Rongcheng xianhua,” in Qi Sihe *et al.*, eds., *Yapian zhanzheng* (Shanghai: Xin zhishi chubanshe, 1955), vol. 1, p. 314.
27. Gong Zizhen, “Song qinchai dachen houguan Lin gong xu,” in Hu Qiuyuan, ed., *Jindai Zhongguo dui Xifang ji lieqiang renshi ziliao huibian* (Taipei: Academia Sinica, Modern History Institute, 1972), vol. 1, pp. 824–25.
28. Lin records the date and weather in his diary entries for February 15, 1839, and dates surrounding, *Lin Zexu quan ji*, vol. 9, rijì, p. 375.
29. Bao Shichen, “Zhi qian Sichuan dubu Su Gong shu,” in *Anwu si zhong* (n.p., 1888), *juan* 35, p. 24b.
30. Testimony of Capt. Thacker, *Report from the Select Committee on the Trade with China* (1840), p. 60.
31. Matheson to Henderson, February 13, 1839, and Matheson to Chas. Smith, February 11, 1839, both in Matheson private letterbook, JM C5/3, Jardine Matheson Archive.
32. Lin Zexu, “Xiaoyu Yuesheng shi shang jun min ren deng su jie yapian gaoshi gao,” in *Lin Zexu quan ji*, vol. 5, wenlu, p. 107.
33. Chang Hsin-pao, *Commissioner Lin and the Opium War* (New York: Norton, 1964), p. 129.

34. Robert Bennet Forbes to Rose Forbes, March 11, 1839, in *Letters from China*, p. 105.
35. Minutes of the meeting are in John Slade, *Narrative of the Late Proceedings and Events in China* (Canton: Canton Register Press, 1839), pp. 42–46. Abiel Abbot Low, an American who was there at the time, said that everyone knew to take Lin Zexu’s edicts with a grain of salt; see Elma Loines, *The China Trade Post-Bag of the Seth Low Family of Salem and New York, 1829–1873* (Manchester, ME: Falmouth Publishing House, 1953), pp. 68–69.
36. Abiel Abbot Low to Harriet Low, April 17, 1839, in Loines, *China Trade Post-Bag*, p. 68; also Slade, *Narrative*, p. 49.
37. Robert Bennet Forbes to Rose Forbes, March 25, 1839, in *Letters from China*, p. 109.
38. *Ibid.*, p. 110.
39. Elliot to Palmerston, March 22, 1839, in *Correspondence relating to China* (1840), p. 349.
40. His arrival is described in a letter from Matheson to Jardine, May 1, 1839, Matheson private letterbook, JM C5/4, Jardine Matheson Archive. Sword detail is from A. A. Low’s letter in Loines, *China Trade Post-Bag*, p. 69.
41. Elliot’s notice, and his informal comments afterward, are in Slade, *Narrative*, pp. 53–54.
42. Slade, *Narrative*, p. 54 (exclamation point added in place of period, based on his having “exclaimed” this phrase according to Slade).
43. Lin referred to the blockade of Canton as a past precedent for dealing with such situations in his memorial of April 12, 1839, reporting the surrender of the opium. See *Lin Zexu quan ji*, vol. 3, zouzhe, p. 132.
44. Lin Zexu memorial of DG19/2/29 (April 12, 1839), in *Lin Zexu quan ji*, vol. 3, zouzhe, pp. 131–34, see p. 132.
45. W. C. Hunter, “Journal of Occurrences at Canton, during the Cessation of Trade at Canton, 1839,” ed. E. W. Ellsworth, *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society Hong Kong Branch*, vol. 4 (1964): 9–36, see p. 15.
46. Robert Inglis testimony in *Report from the Select Committee on the Trade with China* (1840), p. 22; Grace, *Opium and Empire*, p. 236.
47. Robert Bennet Forbes, *Remarks on China and the China Trade* (Boston: Samuel N. Dickinson, 1844), p. 49.

48. Robert Bennet Forbes, *Personal Reminiscences* (Boston: Little, Brown, 1882), p. 147; Robert Bennet Forbes to Rose Forbes, March 25, 1839, in *Letters from China*, p. 111; rice pudding: Robert Bennet Forbes to Rose Forbes, March 29, 1839, in *ibid.*, p. 113.
49. Robert Inglis testimony in *Report from the Select Committee on the Trade with China* (1840), pp. 7–9.
50. *Ibid.*, pp. 14–15.
51. Matheson to Middleton, April 9, 1839, Matheson private letterbook, JM C5/4, Jardine Matheson Archive.
52. “Private Correspondence,” *Times*, November 1, 1839. (“Captain Elliot’s receipts for the opium delivered have appeared in the Calcutta money market, under the head ‘Opium Scrip,’ and some were lately sold by public auction at 355 rupees.”) 53. *Canton Register*, March 26, 1839 (publication delayed to March 27).
54. Robert Bennet Forbes to Rose Forbes, January 31, 1840, in *Letters from China*, p. 205.
55. Elliot to Palmerston, March 30, 1839 (rec’d August 29, 1839), *Correspondence relating to China* (1840), p. 357.
56. Nicholas Draper, *The Price of Emancipation: Slave-Ownership, Compensation and British Society at the End of Slavery* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), pp. 75–113.
57. Slade, *Narrative*, p. 46.
58. “Remarks on the Opium Question,” *Chinese Repository* 8, no. 3 (July 1839): 120.
59. Samuel Warren, *The Opium Question* (London: James Ridgway, 1840), p. 92.
60. Even John Murray Forbes, in America at the time, assumed that Britain’s future trade in China would not include opium, on which count he worried about the effect on the United States of a resumed drain of silver specie into China. John Murray Forbes to Robert Bennet Forbes, December 20, 1839, Forbes Family Business Records, vol. F-8, p. 50, Baker Library, Harvard Business School.
61. Elliot to Palmerston, April 6, 1839, in *Correspondence relating to China* (1840), p. 386. As Elliot explained privately to his sister, “I was so sensible, that the opium ground was untenable, that I offered to abandon it

entirely for the sake of peace and the transaction of the regular trade”: Elliot to his sister Emma Hislop, February 23, 1840, Minto Papers, MS 13135, National Library of Scotland.

62. Elliot to Palmerston, July 18, 1839, in *Correspondence relating to China* (1840), p. 431.
63. Mao Haijian, *Tianchao de bengkui: yapian zhanzheng zai yanjiu* (Beijing: Sanlian shudian, 2012), pp. 92–93. Qishan had confiscated 130,000 taels of the drug. A chest of opium contained about 100 catties, or 1,600 taels, of the unprocessed drug (which, after processing, would render about 800 taels of smokable extract).
64. Mao, *Tianchao*, p. 103. Deng confiscated about 460,000 taels of smokable extract, equivalent to 576 chests of raw opium.
65. Lin Zexu memorial of DG19/2/29 (April 12, 1839), in *Lin Zexu quan ji*, vol. 3, zouzhe, pp. 131–34.
66. A. A. Low letter to Harriet Low, April 17, 1839, in Loines, *China Trade Post-Bag*, p. 71.
67. Lin Zexu memorial of DG19/2/29 (April 12, 1839); he specifically recommended 5 *jin* (nearly 7 pounds) of tea as compensation for each 133-pound chest of opium. Under normal circumstances opium was at least ten times as costly as tea by weight.
68. Elliot to Palmerston (secret), April 3, 1839. PRO FO 17/31/113–17.
69. Elliot to his wife, Clara, April 4, 1839, Minto Papers, MS 13140, National Library of Scotland (changing “Peking” to “Beijing”).
70. The deliveries are recorded in Lin Zexu’s diary for April and May 1839, *Lin Zexu quan ji*, vol. 9, rijì, pp. 386–91.
71. Robert Inglis testimony, *Report from the Select Committee on the Trade with China* (1840), p. 26.
72. James Matheson to Jamsetjee Jeejeebhoy, May 3, 1839, Matheson private letterbook, JM C5/4, Jardine Matheson Archive.
73. The emperor’s reversal is noted in Lin Zexu’s diary for DG19/4/13–18 (May 25–30, 1839), *Lin Zexu quan ji*, vol. 9, rijì, p. 392.
74. Lin Zexu describes the process in a memorial of DG19/5/25 (July 5, 1839), *Lin Zexu quan ji*, vol. 3, zouzhe, p. 160. Elijah Bridgman’s eyewitness description of the destruction site is in the *Chinese Repository* 8, no. 2 (June 1839): 70–77. Lin Zexu’s prayer is described in his diary entry for

DG19/4/20 (June 1, 1839), *Lin Zexu quan ji*, vol. 9, riji, p. 392.

75. Letter extract enclosed in John Abel Smith to Palmerston, August 18, 1839, in PRO FO 17/35/14–17.
76. Matheson's letter to John Abel Smith of April 4, 1839, is noted in Matheson's private letterbook, JM C5/4. Though the letterbook only summarizes the Smith letter, it describes it as being nearly identical to a fully recorded letter written the same day to Jamsetjee Jeejeebhoy in Bombay, which contained identical language to the ostensibly anonymous extract given to Palmerston by Smith.
77. James Matheson to Jamsetjee Jeejeebhoy, April 4, 1839, Matheson private letterbook, JM C5/4, Jardine Matheson Archive.
78. *Canton Register*, July 21, 1840.
79. "As regards India," wrote Auckland when he learned of the surrender of opium at Canton, "we must for the present look upon the opium revenue as annihilated." "This will bear heavy on us," he continued, "but...I have always great confidence in the growing resources of India and I would still look cheerily at our financial prospects." Auckland to Hobhouse, June 6, 1839, quoted in Glenn Melancon, *Britain's China Policy and the Opium Crisis: Balancing Drugs, Violence and National Honour, 1833–1840* (Aldershot, UK: Ashgate, 2003), p. 99.
80. London petition: PRO FO 17/35/109–10. Bristol petition: PRO FO 17/35/190–91.
81. These petitions are scattered throughout PRO FO 17/35; the Manchester data is at PRO FO 17/35/102.
82. Quotes are from the Manchester petition (PRO FO 17/35/104–5), the Blackburn, Lancashire, petition (PRO FO 17/35/188–89), and the Leeds petition (PRO FO 17/35/120–21).
83. Jardine complained in a letter to Matheson that "many people [here] are for doing nothing; they, very foolishly, mix up the insult & violence with the illicit trade, & are for remaining quiet, pocketing the insult, and refusing to pay for the opium." Jardine to Matheson, September 25, 1839, quoted in Melancon, *Britain's China Policy and the Opium Crisis*, p. 102.
84. Editorial beginning "Proceeding with our view of the 'opium question,' " *Times*, October 23, 1839.
85. George Macartney, *An Embassy to China: Being the Journal Kept by Lord*

Macartney during His Embassy to the Emperor Ch'ien-lung, 1793–1794, ed. J. L. Cranmer-Byng (Hamden, CT: Archon Books, 1963), p. 211.

86. David Brown, *Palmerston: A Biography* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2010), pp. 217–25; Grace, *Opium and Empire*, p. 248.
87. Lord Broughton diary, entry for October 1, 1839, British Library, Add. MS 56561.
88. Draper, *The Price of Emancipation*, pp. 106–8.
89. Lord Broughton diary, entries for September 30–October 1, 1839, British Library, Add. MS 56561.
90. Broughton diary, entry for October 1, 1839.
91. John Cam Hobhouse, Baron Broughton, *Recollections of a Long Life, by Lord Broughton (John Cam Hobhouse)*, ed. Lady Dorchester (London: John Murray, 1911), vol. 5, p. 229.

CHAPTER 14 Will and Destiny

1. William C. Hunter, *The 'Fan Kwae' at Canton before Treaty Days, 1825–1844* (London: Kegan Paul, Trench & Co., 1882), pp. 89–90.
2. Lin Zexu's diary entry for DG19/5/26 (July 6, 1839) records his receipt of the new regulations. A later entry, for DG/5/19 (July 19, 1839), notes that foreign dealers will be subject to execution. *Lin Zexu quan ji*, vol. 9, riji, pp. 396, 398.
3. Elliot to Palmerston, August 27, 1839, in *Correspondence relating to China. Presented to both Houses of Parliament, by Command of Her Majesty, 1840* (London: T. R. Harrison, 1840), p. 434; Astell, Braine *et al.* to Elliot, August 25, 1839, in *ibid.*, p. 436.
4. Lin Zexu proclamation of August 31, 1839, trans. John Robert Morrison, in *Correspondence relating to China* (1840), p. 456.
5. *British Opium Trade with China*, a pamphlet containing reprints from the *Leeds Mercury*, 1839–40 (Birmingham, UK: B. Hudson, n.d.), pp. 3–4.
6. Anna Stoddart, *Elizabeth Pease Nichol* (London: J. M. Dent, 1899), p. 93.
7. "The Opium Question," *Northern Star*, February 22, 1840.
8. "The 'Shopkeepers,' Their 'Profit' and Our 'Loss,'" *Northern Star*, January 18, 1840 (changing "principal" to "principle").

9. T. H. Bullock, *The Chinese Vindicated, or Another View of the Opium Question* (London: Wm. H. Allen and Co., 1840), pp. 111–16.
10. Editorial beginning “The war against China...,” *Times*, March 23, 1840.
11. Editorial beginning “The reckless negligence and gross incapacity of the Queen’s Ministers...,” *Times*, April 7, 1840.
12. A great number of such petitions are listed in the *Mirror of Parliament* for 1840, vols. 1–4.
13. “The Opium War,” *Spectator*, March 28, 1840; “The Opium War,” *Northern Star*, April 4, 1840; “Opium War with China,” *Times*, April 25, 1840.
14. “The Opium Trade and War,” *Eclectic Review*, vol. 7 (June 1840): 699–725, quotation on pp. 709–10.
15. “The Opium War,” *Spectator*, March 28, 1840.
16. The *Times* clearly interpreted it that way: “If the war with China be not stopped, if the criminals who have entailed it on us be not disgraced and dispossessed of power,” they wrote in Graham’s support, “the Chinese quarrel will be but a drop in the vast sea of our calamities.” See editorial beginning “The reckless negligence...,” *Times*, April 7, 1840.
17. The cornerstone for the new (current) House of Commons chamber was laid just a few weeks after the start of this debate. Description of temporary chamber from T. H. S. Escott, *Gentlemen of the House of Commons* (London: Hurst and Blackett, Ltd., 1902), vol. 2, pp. 303–4.
18. Graham’s full speech is in *Hansard’s Parliamentary Debates*, 3rd series (London: T. C. Hansard), HC Deb., April 7, 1840, vol. 53, cc. 669–704.
19. The chancellor of the exchequer reported to the House of Commons on May 15, 1840, that the government’s revenue for the coming year would be £46.7 million, and expenditures £49.4 million, for a deficit of nearly £3 million. See *Hansard*, HC Deb., May 15, 1840, vol. 54, c. 130; also reported in the *Canton Register* for September 1, 1840.
20. *Hansard*, HC Deb., April 9, 1840, vol. 53, cc. 925–48.
21. Letter to the editor of the *Morning Post*, April 31, 1839, reprinted in the *Canton Register* of August 18, 1840.
22. *Hansard*, HC Deb., April 8, 1840, vol. 53, c. 829.
23. *Ibid.*, c. 828.
24. *Hansard*, HC Deb., April 9, 1840, vol. 53, c. 856.

25. *Hansard*, HC Deb., April 7, 1840, vol. 53, c. 694, and April 8, 1840, vol. 53, c. 775.
26. *Hansard*, HC Deb., April 7, 1840, vol. 53, c. 737.
27. *Hansard*, HC Deb., April 8, 1840, vol. 53, c. 836.
28. “I am in dread”: Roy Jenkins, *Gladstone* (New York: Random House, 1997), p. 60; a full transcript of Gladstone’s speech is in *Hansard*, HC Deb., April 8, 1840, vol. 53, cc. 800–825.
29. As one paper described Napier at this time, he was “as hot-headed, ignorant, presumptuous, and prejudiced a Captain of the Navy, as was ever by virtue of noble birth thrust into an office, for which he was wholly unfit.” See “Narrative of the events which led to the steps taken by the Chinese government for the suppression of the opium-trade,” *Colonial Gazette*, reprinted in *Spectator*, March 28, 1840.
30. “The Chinese Question,” *Times*, January 27, 1840.
31. *Hansard*, HC Deb., April 7, 1840, vol. 53, cc. 675, 676.
32. *Hansard*, HC Deb., March 24, 1840, vol. 53, c. 8.
33. John Cam Hobhouse, Baron Broughton, *Recollections of a Long Life*, by Lord Broughton (John Cam Hobhouse), ed. Lady Dorchester (London: John Murray, 1911), vol. 5, p. 257.
34. Staunton’s speech is in *Hansard*, HC Deb., April 7, 1840, vol. 53, cc. 738–45.
35. George Thomas Staunton, *Memoirs of the Chief Incidents of the Public Life of Sir George Thomas Staunton, Bart.*, printed for private circulation (London: L. Booth, 1856), pp. 88–90.
36. “News of the Week,” *Spectator*, April 11, 1840.
37. “Sir James Graham’s Motion,” *Manchester Courier*, April 11, 1840.
38. “Letter to Lord Palmerston,” from the *Morning Post*, reprinted in *Canton Register*, August 18, 1840.
39. “The Whigs and the Tories on the China Question,” *Spectator*, April 4, 1840.
40. Editorial beginning “The House of Commons has been engaged...,” *Hampshire Advertiser*, April 11, 1840.
41. “News of the Week,” *Spectator*, April 11, 1840.
42. *Hansard*, HL Deb., May 12, 1840, vol. 54, c. 26.

43. Ibid., c. 35.
44. "The Late Mr. Thomas Manning," *Friend of India*, July 30, 1840, reprinted in *Asiatic Journal and Monthly Register*, vol. 33, new series (November 1840): 182–83.
45. "Thomas Manning, Esq.," *Gentleman's Magazine*, vol. 14, new series (July 1840): 97–100.
46. Jardine to Palmerston, October 27, 1839, Minto Papers, MS 12058, National Library of Scotland.
47. Palmerston to Admiralty (secret), November 4, 1839, UK National Archives, Public Record Office, Foreign Office records (hereafter PRO FO), 17/36/76.
48. Jardine to Palmerston, October 26, 1839, PRO FO 17/35/281–83.
49. Letter to editor, *Canton Register*, July 21, 1840.
50. Julia Lovell, *The Opium War: Drugs, Dreams, and the Making of China* (London: Picador, 2011), p. 110.
51. Rick Bowers, ed., "Lieutenant Charles Cameron's Opium War Diary," *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society Hong Kong Branch*, vol. 52 (2012): 29–61, see p. 37.
52. Daoguang edict of August 21, 1840 (DG20/7/24), trans. Chang Hsin-pao in *Commissioner Lin and the Opium War* (New York: Norton, 1964), p. 212.
53. Qishan's memorial is in Qi Sihe et al., eds., *Yapian zhanzheng* (Shanghai: Xin zhishi chubanshe, 1955), vol. 1, p. 387.
54. Lord Jocelyn, *Six Months with the Chinese Expedition; or, Leaves from a Soldier's Note-book* (London: John Murray, 1841), p. 110.
55. Ibid., p. 116.
56. David Brown, *Palmerston: A Biography* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2010).
57. Palmerston to Elliot, January 24, 1840, Palmerston Papers, GC/EL/29/1-2, University of Southampton.
58. Palmerston to Elliot, November 4, 1839 (rec'd April 9, 1840), in *Papers Relating to China (Private and Confidential) 1839–40 and 1841*, p. 3, Minto Papers, MS 21216A, National Library of Scotland.
59. Palmerston to Plenipotentiaries, February 20, 1840, *ibid.*, p. 9.
60. Charles Elliot to Lord Palmerston, July 20, 1842, Minto Papers, MS 21218,

National Library of Scotland.

61. As Elliot wrote to Palmerston, to notify him that he would be departing from his instructions on negotiation, that “if I can secure so much without a blow” it would be better to settle for minor concessions rather than “to cast upon the country the burden of a distant war...with its certain consequences of deep hatred.” Quoted in Lovell, *Opium War*, p. 129.
62. W. C. Costin, *Great Britain and China, 1833–1860* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1937), p. 87.
63. Palmerston to Elliot, private (draft), April 21, 1841, PRO FO 17/45/36–56, see fol. 43.
64. Palmerston to Elliot, private (draft), April 21, 1841, PRO FO 17/45/36–56.
65. Hobhouse, *Recollections of a Long Life*, vol. 6, p. 14; even Queen Victoria expressed bewilderment at Elliot’s behavior, writing to her uncle, “All we wanted might have been got, if it had not been for the unaccountably strange conduct of Charles Elliot...who completely disobeyed his instructions and *tried* to get the *lowest* terms he could.” Queen Victoria to Leopold, the King of the Belgians, April 13, 1841, in *The Letters of Queen Victoria* (New York: Longmans, Green, and Co., 1907), vol. 1, p. 329.
66. Elliot to his sister Emma Hislop, May 12, 1840, Minto Papers, MS 13135, National Library of Scotland.

CHAPTER 15 Aftermath

1. John Horsley Mayo, *Medals and Decorations of the British Army and Navy* (Westminster: A. Constable, 1897), pp. 255–256; George Tancred, *Historical Record of Medals and Honorary Distinctions Conferred on the British Navy, Army & Auxiliary Forces from the Earliest Period* (London: Spink & Son, 1891), pp. 270–71. A copy of the original medal is held at the Fitzwilliam Museum in Cambridge, England.
2. Mao Haijian, *Tianchao de bengkui: yapien zhanzheng zai yanjiu* (Beijing: Sanlian shudian, 2012), pp. 416–17; Julia Lovell, *The Opium War: Drugs, Dreams, and the Making of China* (London: Picador, 2011), p. 162 and passim; D. MacPherson, M.D., *Two Years in China. Narrative of the Chinese Expedition from its Formation in April, 1840, till April, 1842* (London: Saunders and Otley, 1842), pp. 230–31; Keith Stewart

Mackenzie, *Narrative of the Second Campaign in China* (London: Richard Bentley, 1842), p. 28; Mark C. Elliott, "Bannerman and Townsman: Ethnic Tension in Nineteenth-Century Jiangnan," *Late Imperial China* 11, no. 1 (June 1990): 36–74.

3. Lovell, *Opium War*, p. 116.
4. As reported by Karl Gutzlaff, based on an uncited source, in *The Life of Taou-kwang, Late Emperor of China* (London: Smith, Elder and Co., 1852), p. 180.
5. W. H. Hall, *Narrative of the Voyages and Services of the Nemesis, from 1840 to 1843*, ed. W. D. Bernard (London: Henry Colburn, 1844), vol. 1, p. 334.
6. Bei Qingqiao, "Duoduo yin," in Qi Sihe et al., eds., *Yapian zhanzheng* (Shanghai: Xin zhishi chubanshe, 1955), vol. 3, p. 198.
7. "quite blackened," "bespattered": McPherson, *Two Years in China*, pp. 73, 74; "many most barbarous things: Journal of Henry Norman, quoted in David McLean, "Surgeons of the Opium War: The Navy on the China Coast, 1840–42," *English Historical Review* 121, no. 491 (April 2006): 487–504, see p. 492; "our visitations": Sir William Parker to Lord Minto, July 30, 1842, quoted in *ibid.*, pp. 497–98; "a war in which": Charles Elliot to Earl of Aberdeen, January 25, 1842, Minto Papers, MS 21218, National Library of Scotland.
8. "Letter of Hyu-Ly (Opium-Eater) to Captain Elliot" (reprinted from the *Charivari*), *Times*, April 17, 1841.
9. Editorial beginning "While the public are abundantly convinced....," *Times*, June 14, 1841.
10. Glenn Melancon, *Britain's China Policy and the Opium Crisis: Balancing Drugs, Violence and National Honour, 1833–1840* (Aldershot, UK: Ashgate, 2003), p. 129.
11. Jonathan Parry, "Graham, Sir James Robert George, second baronet (1792–1861)," *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004–13).
12. As per the orders of Lord Stanley, the secretary of state for war and the colonies, the new government wished "to increase the force which has been hitherto employed upon the coasts of China, and to make preparations for an early and vigorous prosecution of the war." Lord Stanley to the

Board of Control, extract, December 31, 1841, in *China. Return to two addresses of the Honourable The House of Commons, dated 3 August 1843* (Printed by order of the House of Commons, August 21, 1843), p. 23; see also pp. 20–24, 28, and 32–33 of *ibid.* for details on troop numbers.

13. Christmas editorial, beginning “At the present season...,” *Times*, December 24, 1842.
14. Editorial beginning “We were scarcely aware of the pain we were inflicting...,” *Times*, November 28, 1842.
15. Capt. Granville G. Loch, *The Closing Events of the Campaign in China: The Operations in the Yang-tze-kiang; and Treaty of Nanking* (London: John Murray, 1843), pp. 173–74.
16. Hobhouse to Auckland, September 22, 1839, in Broughton Correspondence, British Library, MSS EUR F.213.7, fol. 189; Hobhouse to Auckland, May 4, 1840, in *ibid.*, fol. 342; Hobhouse to Auckland, June 4, 1840, in *ibid.*, fol. 364; Henry St. George Tucker, as quoted in George Thomas Staunton, *Miscellaneous Notices Relating to China, and Our Commercial Intercourse with That Country*, 2nd ed., enlarged (London: John Murray, 1822–50), p. 35; Glenn Melancon, “Honour in Opium? The British Declaration of War on China, 1839–1840,” *International History Review* 21, no. 4 (December 1999): 855–74.
17. As Lord Stanley explained in the House of Commons, “the merchants had been warned that if they chose to violate the laws of China, either by the introduction of prohibited goods into a legalised port, or the introduction of any goods whatever into ports not legalised, they must not expect the protection of the British Government; but must be exposed to the penalties inflicted by the laws of China.” *Hansard’s Parliamentary Debates*, 3rd series (London: T. C. Hansard), HC Deb., February 10, 1844, vol. 72, c. 473.
18. Aberdeen to Pottinger, December 29, 1842, as quoted by Robert Peel in *Hansard*, HC Deb., April 4, 1843, vol. 68, c. 464.
19. Staunton’s full speech on the suppression of the opium trade is in *Hansard*, HC Deb., April 4, 1843, vol. 68, cc. 411–24.
20. Lady Napier to Palmerston, March 12, 1840, Palmerston Papers, GC/NA/18, University of Southampton.
21. Thomas De Quincey, “The Opium and the China Question,” *Blackwood’s Edinburgh Magazine* 47, no. 296 (June 1840): 717–38; Cannon Schmitt,

- “Narrating National Addictions: De Quincey, Opium, and Tea,” in *High Anxieties: Cultural Studies in Addiction*, ed. Janet Brodie and Marc Redfield (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002): 63–84. The article was not printed under De Quincey’s name, but confirmation that he was the author can be found in David Masson, *The Collected Writings of Thomas De Quincey* (Edinburgh: Adam and Charles Black, 1890), vol. 14, footnote on p. 146.
22. Thomas De Quincey, “Postscript on the China and the Opium Question,” *Blackwood’s Edinburgh Magazine* 47, no. 296 (June 1840): 847–53, quotation on p. 849.
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 25. Charles Elliot, undated notes in his own defense, 1840s, Minto Papers, MS 21218, National Library of Scotland.
 26. *Hansard*, HC Deb., April 4, 1843, vol. 68, c. 417.
 27. *Hansard*, HC Deb., March 17, 1842, vol. 61, c. 786.
 28. *Hansard*, HC Deb., April 4, 1843, vol. 68, cc. 453–57.
 29. Richard J. Grace, *Opium and Empire: The Lives and Careers of William Jardine and James Matheson* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen’s University Press, 2014), p. 299.
 30. “Sir Jamsetjee Jeejeebhoy, the First Indian Knight,” *Asiatic Journal and Monthly Miscellany*, vol. 38, new series (August 1842): 376.
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 32. *Rast Goftar*, April 17, 1859, as translated and quoted by Jesse Palsetia in “Merchant Charity and Public Identity Formation in Colonial India: The Case of Jamsetjee Jejeebhoy,” *Journal of Asian and African Studies* 40, no. 3 (2005): 197–217, see pp. 199–200.
 33. “English Outrage in China,” *Youth’s Companion* (Boston), March 26, 1841, p. 183, cited by Dael Norwood in “Trading in Liberty: The Politics of the American China Trade, c. 1784–1862” (Ph.D. dissertation, Princeton University, 2012), p. 255.
 34. “China,” *Liberator*, April 24 1840 (from the “Mer. Journal”).

35. "Opium," *Liberator*, April 10, 1840 (reprinted from the *Boston Weekly Magazine*, March 28, 1840).
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